

UNIVERSITY OF READING

**INNOVATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH
GARDEN BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939.**

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Horticulture and Landscape.**



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ABSTRACT.

This thesis explores innovation and creation from an artistic perspective. It explains how an innovation originates in the mind of a creative individual, and through physical expression becomes an artistic product which can, given the right circumstances, evolve into a new fashion. From an analytical assessment of a range of source material the character and form of the inter-war garden are described. Using the results from the investigation into innovation and additional historical analyses an explanation is made for the garden's development.

The innovation study describes the Creative Process of the artistic individual, making use of interviews conducted with innovative garden-makers including Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe and Dame Sylvia Crowe. It produces definitions of creation and innovation in relation to a new artistic product and proposes a theory - the Matrix of Innovation - to explain how an innovative product may evolve in society, and as a commercial product in the market place.

The study of the inter-war garden focuses on garden design, contents and layout, rather than planting. Because gardens evolve relatively slowly the study period extends back to 1900 to enable changes to be monitored, and contrasts and comparisons drawn between the Edwardian (1900-1914) and the inter-war (1919-1939) gardens. The study reveals that there is inertia to garden form and that when change occurred it was concurrent in the suburb and country gardens. This change with its origins in the Edwardian vernacular Arts and Crafts garden is shown to

have a strong influence on the inter-war garden. New garden products are identified using the definitions, their expression described, and their evolution charted both in terms of changes in garden form and character, and as a product in the Matrix of Innovation.

INTRODUCTION.

As the title suggests the aim of this work is twofold: to explain "innovation", and to define the British inter-war garden.

Innovation is a much-quoted term, loosely used to describe something "new". However when closely examined in the context of artistic creative behaviour, it is found that the emergence of something "new" is the outcome of a complex of interacting processes and influences. The study untangles this web. It examines the psychology of the Creative Process - the means by which new ideas arise in the individual; it defines and distinguishes between creation and innovation; and it proposes a theory - the Matrix of Innovation - by which a new artistic product may evolve in society and, as a commercial product, in the market place. This notion of an artistic product refers to the garden as a product of garden design, and the constituent of that part of society seeking inspiration or advice on garden-making as the market.

The inter-war years are perceived by most people as an inglorious period of British history and have been largely ignored by garden historians. In this thesis the form and character of both the country house and suburban garden is established for the periods 1900-1914 and 1919-1939 by qualitative literary analyses of contemporary periodicals, monographs, and secondary sources. The earlier period is included to provide comparisons and to enable change to be monitored over time. Reference is made to the inter-war allotment, an important land use; and to landscape of the

early post-second World war years which exhibited expression of ideas conceived in the late inter-war years. Armed with the conclusions drawn from the study of innovation, the changes in garden form and character are explained in terms of the Matrix of Innovation.

It must be made clear at the outset that it was a deliberate policy to focus on ornamental garden-making in terms of the garden contents and their layout rather than the planting of the individual garden features. A study of inter-war ornamental plant use, particularly the impact of new introductions by plant-hunters such as Kingdon Ward, Farrer and Wilson would make a fascinating complementary project.

CHAPTER 1.

Aims & Methodology.

This chapter sets out the aims of the thesis; explains the reasons for the strategy adopted, and describes various methodologies used.

Literature Review.

Existing Research, Abstracts and Indices.

An extensive and detailed search was made for research relevant to this study. This encompassed five titles which list current and completed academic research (1-5) and ten Abstracts and Indices (6-15). The sources which list theses: *Current Research in Britain* and the *Brits Index* were examined for the years back to 1971, and the *Retrospective Index to Theses of Great Britain and Ireland 1716 to 1950* was checked for earlier works. The Abstracts and Indices were searched for the years 1986-1992, and the *Subject Index to Periodicals* for contemporary garden-making references. The diversity of the Abstract and Indices titles reflected the disciplines relevant to innovation and garden history: sociology, psychology, garden history, art history, social history, architectural history, and horticulture. Unfortunately, only one relevant thesis was discovered (16).

Bath Information and Data Services.

The Social Science Citation Index and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (1981-1994) were searched on-line using the Bath Information and Data Services (BIDS). The search was by article title, and a targeted approach was adopted using carefully selected title keywords (either full words and/or word stems and "wild cards"). These were used in combinations to narrow the search parameters. In this way BIDS enabled the rapid scanning of a vast number of references. The search parameters were constructed with the invaluable help of Mrs Lesley Mudway at the University of Bristol Library:

1. Creative Processes + Creator* + Creativ* + Innovat* + Garden*
2. Dissemination + Creative Process + Creator* + Creativ*
3. Education + Dissemination + Creative Process + Creator* + Creativ*
4. Garden* Design*

The "wild card" symbol "*" covers all possible letter combinations after a word stem, and "+" represents the combination of words in a search. Unfortunately the searches did not yield any relevant references.

Innovation.

Garden-making is an art form, and "innovation" is a word often encountered in the literature concerned with artistic subjects, and used to mean "something new". However no commentator who used the word, explained why the particular "something" was "new". One aim of this study is to explain garden development. The garden is seen as a product of garden design and something "innovative" is the starting point of product evolution. Therefore in a scientific analysis of why the inter-war garden evolved, it is essential to be able to categorically identify what is (and what is not) "new" or "innovative".

The first aim of the thesis was to isolate and define the term 'innovation'. In the case of artistic innovation there is the all-important input from the artistic individual. A prerequisite to understanding why something is new is to understand how something new arises in the mind of the creative individual. Therefore the starting point in defining innovation was the mental Creative Process. The wide-reaching investigation into the Creative Process used current texts from relevant disciplines: art, psychology, philosophy, economics, and product development. Interviews were also conducted with six garden-makers to whom the epithet "innovative" has been attached. The aim of the interviews was to discover from primary sources what the interviewees understood by the Creative Process, and what they consider innovation to be at an individual level. An additional aim of the interviews was to gather examples of creativity within a garden-making context. The interviewees' names and the interview technique are presented in Appendix I.

The result of this investigation established what a new idea is and how it comes about, and enabled the definition of "creation". Separating the mental product from the physical product resulted in the definition of "innovation".

Throughout history certain garden styles have become synonymous with a fashion, for example the English Landscape Garden. The second aim of the study into innovation was to link the beginning with the end: to construct a logical and rational theory which explains how an innovative product may evolve into a fashion. This theory is called "the Matrix of Innovation".

Initial studies of texts concerned with *haute couture* fashion revealed that the evolution of a new product is a very complex issue. This is particularly so in garden-making where fashions do not change by the "season", and because garden owners span the social spectrum. Product evolution is closely tied in with diverse socio-economic forces which can independently and in various combinations affect the process. Therefore the first step in building the Matrix was to identify the forces which could affect an artistic product's success (or not) in the market place; the second was to establish the inter-relationships between these forces; the third to identify the environment within which these processes operate. The idea of an environment led to the investigation as to whether the evolution of an artistic product was analogous to the colonisation of an ecosystem, and could be classified as a series of inter-connected but separate stages. Four stages were identified and explained incorporating the relevant external forces, and illustrated with examples from a range of art forms. A brief summary of the evolution of the Edwardian

vernacular garden is given to demonstrate the Matrix in operation; and a summary of commercial product development and evolution, devised from current texts, used as a comparison to highlight the differences between the controlled commercial sector and the more volatile artistic world.

Garden Form and Character.

Introduction.

The inter-war garden has been ostensibly passed over by garden historians. The aim of this thesis is to, in some small way, redress the balance: to describe the form and character of the inter-war garden, and to explain how and why the garden developed in terms of the Matrix of Innovation. The inter-war period spanned twenty years, and as has been noted, gardens do not evolve as fast as other art forms. It was therefore decided to extend the study period back to 1900. This had two distinct advantages: it enabled a baseline to be drawn at the start of the century, and the first World war provided a chronological "break" which allowed comparisons to be drawn between the Edwardian garden and the inter-war garden. However, to add further structure to the research and presentation of results, and to ensure a comprehensive explanation of the British garden, the garden was divided into four types:

1. Edwardian Country House and Garden.
2. Edwardian Suburban House and Garden.

3. Inter-War Country House and Garden (including the Lesser Country House and Garden).
4. The Inter-War Suburban House and Garden.

This approach also helped fill another garden history "gap", that of the Edwardian Suburban House and Garden.

A further chapter on the inter-war garden examines the professional garden designer and the garden-making profession. This draws together several strands which do not fit comfortably into the studies of the individual garden types, for example the inauguration of the Institute of Landscape Architects. Additional comment is made on the inter-war allotment and the British landscape immediately post-1945, in particular the Festival of Britain. The former was an important land use which it was thought may have had an influence on garden design by removing one aspect of their functionality thus leaving more garden free for ornamental use. The latter ensured that any new ideas which had been formed in the late-Thirties, but whose evolution was curtailed by the war, would not be inadvertently overlooked.

Additional Historical Analyses.

Throughout the study additional information was required to fully explain certain changes which occurred in the garden. This data was gathered in a series of analyses which targeted the prevalent socio-economic and political conditions,

architectural history, and the evolution of the suburb. The sources used for these analyses were secondary monographs and periodicals.

Sources of Information.

The main body of information on the form and character of both the Edwardian and inter-war garden was found in contemporary sources, in particular periodicals and monographs. However additional horticultural sources were used: primary source accounts of the inter-war garden came from the interviews with Dame Sylvia Crowe and Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe (see Appendix I); and commentaries from secondary source monographs and periodicals.

The years up to 1939 saw a horticultural publishing boom to match the increase of gardening as a popular pastime. Time constraints made it impossible to examine all sources so a targeted approach to data gathering was devised to ensure that the sources examined were pertinent and representational of the four garden types.

Periodicals.

For the period 1900-1939 six periodicals were studied. They were chosen for their continuity of publication, and because they targeted a wide range of readers. These targeted readers ranged from the wealthy landed class (A) through the scientifically-orientated horticulturist (B) and the professional gardener (C) to the keen amateur gardener (D & E) and beginner (F):

- A. *Country Life*.
- B. *The Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*.
- C. *The Gardeners' Chronicle*.
- D. *The Garden* (1900-1919) renamed *Popular Gardening*.
- E. *Gardening Illustrated*.
- F. *The Gardener*.

To take account of the flurry of new horticultural publications which appeared between the wars, the Periodical Catalogues in the University of Reading, Lindley, and British Museum Newspaper (Colindale) Libraries were examined. An additional seventeen publications were identified which, with the exception of *Amateur Gardening*, all began or ceased publication during this period:

Amateur Gardening.

Country Illustrated.

Garden Design.

Garden Life incorporated into *Garden Work for Amateurs*.

Gardens and Gardening.

Home Gardening.

House and Garden incorporated into *Vogue*.

Landscape and Garden.

My Garden.

The Ideal Home.

The Smallholder.

Town and Country.

Town and Country Life became *Town and Country Illustrated*.

Town and Country Review.

A range of sample years from which to gather data were selected. For the group of six, these were chosen to straddle the first World war and to ensure rapid changes (if they occurred) would not be missed. For the group of seventeen there was no continuity of publication, and sample years for each publication were selected to be evenly spaced throughout the print run. The periodicals and sample years are shown on Table 1 (see p.24).

It was hoped circulation figures would have been available in order to indicate the popularity of gardening as a pastime, and to provide contrast between the various publications. Both publishers and the Audit Bureau of Circulation were contacted but both replied that such records were not collated at that time.

Table 1: Periodical Sample Years.

Country Life.	1900	1903	1914	1919	1922	1933	1938
Journal of the RHS.	1900	1903	1914	1919	1922	1933	1938
The Gardeners' Chronicle.	1900	1903	1914	1919	1922	1933	1938
The Garden.	1900	1903	1914	1919	1922	1933	1938
Gardening Illustrated.	1900	1903	1914	1919	1922	1933	1938
The Gardener. became	1900	1903	1914	1919			
Popular Gardening.	1922	1933	1938				
Amateur Gardening.	1919	1924	1929	1934	1939		
Garden Life.	1919	1922	1925	1928			
incorporated into							
Garden Work for Amateurs.	1919	1923	1926	1930	1934	1938	
Garden Design.	1930	each	year	studied to	1939		
My Garden.	1934	each	year	studied to	1939		
Landscape and Garden.	1934	each	year	studied to	1939		
Home Gardening.	1928	1931	1934	1937	1939		
Gardens and Gardening.	1932	each	year	studied to	1939		
House and Garden.	1920	1922	1924				
incorporated into							
Vogue.	1924	1929	1934	1939			
The Smallholder.	1919	1930	1939				
The Ideal Home.	1920	1929	1939				
Country Illustrated.	1921	1929	1939				
Town and Country.	1923	1927					
Town and Country Life.	1927	1932					
became							
Town and Country Illustrated.	1933						
Town and Country Review	1933	1939					

Newspapers.

It was noted that newspapers ran "Gardening Pages". In order to ascertain whether this dissemination source would reveal further details on garden form and character an exploratory study was made of the weekly Saturday gardening page of the *Daily Mail* for the sample years 1922, 1933 and 1938. The *Daily Mail* was chosen because it had a high circulation figure (over one million), and because in 1929 their Gardening Correspondent (Percy Izzard) produced the "*Daily Mail*" *Garden Plans* (17). Unfortunately only information on craft of horticulture was published. Had the study been successful it would have been extended to other newspapers.

Monographs.

An extensive bibliography of contemporary horticultural monographs was compiled from: contemporary book reviews and advertisements; the *Bibliographical Index: Gardens and Landscape Architecture Volumes I and II* (18); *A Bibliography of Garden History* (19); the *Cumulative Index to Quarterly Newsletter, Garden History Newsletter and Occasional Paper 1966-1986* (20); the Lindley and University of Reading Library index catalogues; and catalogues from specialist antiquarian booksellers. At this stage it was not possible to be certain that all the books contained relevant data, but the comprehensive list aimed to ensure that none were missed.

It was hoped that sales figures would be available to act as a barometer of popularity. But again the publishers and the Audit Bureau of Circulation replied that such figures do not exist.

Experimental Procedure.

Periodicals.

Two experiments were carried out using contemporary periodicals: a quantitative analysis and a qualitative analysis.

Quantitative Analysis.

The aim of the quantitative analysis was to test two hypotheses. First, that as gardening became more popular the quantity of garden-making advice would increase to meet the need. This in turn would indicate the importance attached to garden design by the various publishers, and the results could then be integrated with the qualitative analysis to compare and contrast the type of advice being offered. Second, that a hierarchy of dissemination existed between the types of garden and this would be reflected in the periodicals. That is to say new ideas would first appear in one type of garden and over time would spread throughout the gardening community, but in a particular pattern. It was expected this pattern would be identifiable in the periodicals.

In order to test this first hypothesis the annual indices (or cumulative weekly contents pages, if indices were not published) were methodically analysed. Eight categories were selected, based on an examination of the periodicals' contents. For each category the number of entries *per* index were counted and calculated as a percentage of the total number of index entries. This was to be done for each of the six periodicals for each of the seven sample years. The eight categories were:

1. Hardy and Tender Ornamental Plant and Cultivation,
2. Glasshouse Cultivation, both Ornamental and Productive.
3. Fruit Cultivation and Production.
4. Vegetable Cultivation and Production.
5. Pests and Diseases.
6. Notes from Horticultural Societies.
7. Horticulture from Abroad.
8. Gardens, Garden Features, and Garden Design.

This technique allowed the changes in percentages of "Gardens, Garden Features, and Garden Design" to be monitored within one periodical over time, and comparisons to be made between the periodicals. It also enabled a figure to be put on the importance accorded to garden-making by each periodical in comparison with the percentages of the other categories.

The second hypothesis was tested simultaneously. It was assumed that only the wealthy would be able to afford the services of an innovative garden designer, and

therefore dissemination of new ideas would first appear in the periodical catering for this readership. Over time, as the product lost its exclusiveness, it would be disseminated to a wider audience by the periodicals which catered for different readerships. The time gaps between the appearance of the new product in the various publications was to be measured by recording the first date that specific keywords appeared. The keywords used were the new garden features which came to epitomise the Edwardian garden: Rock Garden, Wall Garden, Wild Garden, Bog Garden, Sunken Pool/Lily Pool, Herbaceous Border, and Pergola. It was hoped to show that the new products would first appear in *Country Life*, followed by *The Gardener* and/or *Gardening Illustrated*, *The Gardeners' Chronicle* and finally *The Gardener*. This hierarchy also reflected the societal hierarchy and the size of disposable income available to the garden.

Qualitative Analysis.

Contemporary Periodicals.

The aim of the qualitative analysis was to extract relevant information from the periodicals so that a description of the form and character of each garden type could be made. Periodicals frequently and regularly published up-to-date information, and by using a standard and structured sampling technique, data was extracted pertaining to gardens, garden design and garden-making. The sampling technique was the same for both groups of periodicals. It involved a page-by-page examination of each issue of each periodical for each of the sample years, and

taking notes on the relevant contents, for example articles which discussed the planting, siting, or construction of garden features; garden layout plans and photographs. Copies of appropriate examples were taken to illustrate points made in the text.

Contemporary Monographs.

Monographs which contained garden-making suggestions were isolated from the bibliography based on their title, or if the title was ambiguous by examining the book on the "just in case" basis. The number of monographs examined were: 43 for the Edwardian garden, 80 for the inter-war garden. The data extraction technique was similar to that of the qualitative periodical review. The books were carefully examined and notes made about information pertinent to the form and character of the garden. Again a certain number of reproductions were made to illustrate the thesis.

Data Analysis and Presentation.

The Qualitative Analysis did not produce consistent trends and the results are displayed in Appendix II. The main text is divided into three Sections:

Section I. Creation, Innovation, and the Matrix of Innovation.

Section II. The Edwardian Garden.

Section III. The Inter-War Garden.

Section I presents the explanation of how the Creative Process operates; the definitions of innovation and creation; and the theory of the Matrix of Innovation. Sections II and III explain the development of the garden. An ordered format was devised to ensure that the explanations are comprehensible. Garden evolution is charted chronologically from 1900. The chapters separate the garden types and follow the garden's development. The descriptions of form and character draw together the primary, contemporary, and secondary source material and present it in logical form. The results of the additional historical analyses are introduced to highlight and explain certain aspects of the garden's development; and the Matrix of Innovation is applied to explain the garden's development. The result is a comprehensive explanation of the innovation and the development of the British inter-war garden.

SECTION I.
CREATION, INNOVATION, AND THE MATRIX OF INNOVATION.

CHAPTER 2.

The Creative Process, Creation, and Innovation.

Introduction.

Innovation is a term often used by commentators to describe a product created by a third party. The aim of this section is to examine and explain the notion of innovation. The questions that need addressing are: how does something "new" arise; what is meant by the terms "creation" and "innovation"; and how may a new idea evolve from the point of its inception?

The study puts forward the theory of a Matrix of Innovation. This reveals a series of distinct but inter-connected processes and influences beginning with innovation and resulting, in some cases, in a new fashion. It draws analogies with the process of ecological colonisation; includes extracts from interviews with individuals to whom the epithet "innovative" has been attached (see p.17); and is illustrated using examples. The Matrix will be integral to explaining the changes in the British garden in the years of this century up to and just beyond the second World war.

The Creative Process.

The concepts of Creativity, Creative Behaviour and the Creative Process although similarly named and linked are distinct. For the purpose of this study the definitions are as follows:

Creativity is the trait to which man owes his culture and civilization, and which continues to lead him on his evolutionary development. It is an organising process, the contribution to man's constructed environment of a concept not previously in it. By the way of its very nature, it is spontaneous, inner-directed, ordinarily not capable of being elicited at will, and is unpredictable, escaping manipulation and control (1).

Creative Behaviour is the activity by which Man imposes a new order on his environment. Although Creative Behaviour often does not appear as a response to direct stimuli (that is to say it is not always problem solving), it cannot take place without experiences which precede and trigger it (2).

The Creative Process is the mental procedure by which a creation arises within the individual. The process is only amenable to experimentation in the case of productive thinking - problem solving. Here the objective is clearly defined, as are the parameters within which the given problem is to be solved (3).

An example of problem solving is a confectionary company wishing to introduce a new chocolate bar. Here the destination (goal) is known, and the steps taken to arrive at the new product - the New Product Process - are open to experimentation (see pp.65-67).

This study is concerned with the emergence of new artistic ideas and their evolution, in particular garden design. Creativity (introducing a new concept into man's designed landscape) is inescapably linked to the Creative Process. In the case of truly creative individuals, the Creative Process is a journey with a known direction but unknown destination. Taking the journey metaphor further: the looser the itinerary for the creative journey, that is to say the greater the freedom allowed the individual to set the objective and define the parameters within which a solution is arrived at, the more the process can be termed truly creative (4). Rogers (1959) cited by Nystrom (1979) expanded upon this. He postulated that the external environmental conditions most favourable to increasing individual creativity are twofold. First, when greater psychological freedom is experienced - freedom for the individual to express his personality in thinking and feeling. Second, when greater psychological safety is experienced by the creator. Here the climate should be such that the individual is to be accepted for what he is, and external evaluation and the need for defensiveness will be absent (5). The creative ideas of the plantsman Christopher Lloyd at his garden Great Dixter are a good example of how a conducive environment benefit the Creative Process. Mr Lloyd identifies himself as an experimenter, pushing forward boundaries all the time, always trying different ways of growing plants and new arrangements (6). His

garden at Great Dixter provides the clement environment or "laboratory" for his experiments. It is here he experiences psychological freedom:

"A lot of your ideas come as you are handling plants, as you are doing things you can see how you can do things better, or introduce something new. You can always find new ways of doing things."

(7)

Psychological safety is inherent because of Lloyd's position as one of the country's leading horticulturists. He is respected by both professionals and amateurs: this respect based upon his achievements. Furthermore he enjoys being provocative and is not afraid to be controversial. Such attitudes invite adverse reaction but Mr Lloyd is not deterred by them.

It is precisely the lack of psychological constraints enjoyed in a favourable environment which prevent the Creative Process from being subjected to experimentation. Consequently studies pertaining to the cerebral workings of the Creative Process primarily consist of records made by creative artists, musicians, philosophers, scientists and inventors etc. (8). Both the reasoning processes and the dynamic forces which set these processes in motion and direct them towards something new must be analysed (9).

Mooney and Razik (1967) stated that two reasoning process are reported as commonly experienced by creative thinkers. First, a strong emotional quality:

compulsory, spontaneous and involuntary, sometimes to the extent of a feeling that an outside agent has suggested ideas. Socrates' "demon" is a famous example. Second, the formation of mental patterns in the subconscious mind. This subconscious or nonverbal activity may in some cases be likened to a withdrawal into ones self, prior to the burst of illumination (10). In interview Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe offered his opinion on the role of the subconscious. He began to examine this aspect of his design process after the second World war when he had "time to think, to take a deeper view of what this thing was all about" (11). For Sir Geoffrey the influence of the subconscious comes when:

"you yourself do creative work and the solution pops out, it is something quite different from the intellectual side of the brain."
(12)

Having spent years examining his subconscious, Sir Geoffrey now "consciously operates the subconscious" and suggests that the "subconscious harmonises the conscious" (13).

A link exists between subconscious activity and previous experiences. All students of productive thinking - with the exception of those who claim that invention is due to chance - claim a selection and re-organisation of past experiences and acquired bits of knowledge are involved in the Creative Process (14). Whilst being somewhat provocative, Adrian Bloom unwittingly acknowledged this prerequisite:

"I don't think anybody by and large is an innovator. You always pick up some ideas from elsewhere that give you the ideas to go on with." (15)

Sir Geoffrey suggested that "the subconscious of the artist is not influenced by intellectual learning but by taking in ideas and enriching ones subconscious" (16). Although not explaining how intellectual learning differed from taking in ideas, he identified travel as a particularly important source of enrichment as it exposed one to new landscapes (17). Henry Moore (1944) in his essay on *The Sculptor's Aims* also acknowledged the importance of previous experiences:

"Each sculptor through his past experiences, through observation of natural laws, through criticism of his own work and other sculpture, through his character and psychological make-up, and according to his stage of development, finds that certain qualities in sculpture become of fundamental importance to him." (18)

Past and present experiences become concepts and percepts in ones own inner subconscious world, necessary steps before creativity can commence. Thus creativity is characterised by a unique output from self (19).

These comments were supported by Rogers (1959) cited by Nystrom (1979) who assumed that the main motivation for individual creativity is self-actualization. Rogers believed that creativity would increase when the individual shows greater

openness to experience, has more internal focus of evaluation and a greater ability to toy with elements and concepts. By openness to experience is meant a lack of rigidity in concepts, beliefs, perceptions and hypotheses (20).

Several writers have broken down the reasoning processes and motivational aspects of the Creative Process into a series of stages. Herbert Read (1960) in *Art Now* discussed "The Creative Aspect" in the artist and identified five stages involved in the Creative Process of the visual arts:

- "1. There is first a predisposing emotional mood, a state of readiness or awareness, perhaps a sense of the momentary availability of the unconscious levels of the mind.

2. Whilst he is in this state there come to the artist the first premonitions of a symbol, or thought to be expressed, not in words, but in visible and tangible material shape - perhaps "this landscape", "this dish of fruit", perhaps only an abstract adumbration of planes and masses.

3. Then, as a third step, we have the mental elaboration of this symbol, the introduction or selection of images which the mind intuitively associates with the symbol, the determination of the emotional value or pressure of the images.

4. Next the artist seeks an appropriate method, including an appropriate material, by means of which he can represent the symbol.

5. Finally, there is the actual technical process of translating the mental perception into objective form - a process during which the original symbol may receive considerable modifications." (21)

Read argued that whilst his psychological analysis identified five consecutive and distinct stages, in practice the activity is integral and inseparable. Moreover the artist may not necessarily start at the beginning:

"But fundamental to all exact psychology of the creative process is the notion that art is the expression through the senses of states of intuition, perception or emotion, *peculiar to the individual*." (22)

Mooney and Razik (1967) observed that a sequence of incubation and subsequent illumination appeared to be a universal pattern in the Creative Process. The "gestation phase" is the organic phase of incubation during which the seed of an idea grows in the subconscious until it is born into the conscious (equivalent to Read's phases 1 and 2). The subsequent "illumination" in the conscious leading to a burst of creativity (Read's phase 3) has been likened to the processes before and during childbirth (23). Nystrom (1979) was concerned with the Creative Process in the context of economics and business development. Nevertheless he recognised

four stages in the personal Creative Process, terming them: Preparation, Incubation, Illumination and Verification (24). For each stage Nystrom listed the important requirements:

"Preparation: Openness to experience.

Tolerance of ambiguity.

Willingness to redefine concepts.

Divergent thought processes.

Intuitive ability.

Incubation: (Imagination).

Subconscious data processing.

Psychological freedom and safety.

Illumination: Ability to shift from intuitive to analytical patterns of thought.

Verification: Critical attitude.

Convergent thought processes.

Analytical ability.

(Intelligence)." (25)

Definition of Creation.

Despite the different contexts, the authors agreed that the individual's Creative Process is personal, organic, and inwardly focused. The individual must have an enriched subconscious through experiences, must be amenable to new experiences, and must have the aspiration to bring about something new. During the complex Creative Process the individual draws from all departments: personal reasoning processes, previous experiences, the subconscious, and the working environment. It is a unifying and synthetic process accompanied by strong emotional feeling, involving not just the mental faculties but the totality of the person - emotions, perceptions, conscious as well as the unconscious processes, including dreams (26). The result of this synthetic process is creation - the birth of a new idea (a mental product) from the subconscious into the conscious. The creation is therefore the new idea itself.

Definition of Innovation.

It is at this point the distinction must be made between creation and innovation. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "to create" as:

"To make, form, constitute, or bring into legal existence (an institution, condition, mental product, or form, not existing before)."

(27)

This is in accord with the conclusion drawn above, that to create is to give birth to a new idea in the conscious; and the definition of Creativity as a "contribution to Man's constructed environment of a concept not previously in it" (see p.32).

"To innovate" is defined as:

"To change (a thing) into something new; to alter; to renew.

To bring in (something new) the first time; to introduce as new. (28)

Therefore, to innovate is to give physical expression to the mental concept; and an innovation is the first tangible form of a creation.

This definition corresponds to stages 4 and 5 of Read's assessment (see pp.37-38), although it is accepted that between "illumination" and the "objective form" there may be modification to the original concept. Expression may take many different forms. for example, a painting, a sculpture, a piece of music, a building, a planting scheme, the written or spoken word, a chemical or mathematical formula.

The Innovator and Levels of Creativity.

By definition creation and innovation are distinct processes, however in the case of creative individuals the creator and innovator are often the same person. For example Darwin published his Theory of Evolution, Einstein published his Theory

of Relativity, and Miss Jekyll made her Flower Borders. However there may be a time gap between creation and innovation, for example the twenty years between Darwin arriving at his Theory of Evolution and its 1859 publication in *Origin of Species* (29).

Every human being exhibits creative behaviour, particularly when problem solving. However certain individuals express higher levels of creativity than others, and can be grouped together. Artists, poets, writers, musicians, scientists, and inventors immediately spring to mind when creative groups of people are thought of (30). Furthermore, within such groups, individuals will exhibit differing levels of creativity. It is useful to distinguish between these.

1. "True Innovators" - those who create and develop an innovative product. For example Miss Jekyll was innovative in her use of colour theory in the designing of flower borders. True Innovators may have a strong impact on a particular art or science. In such instances the innovator may become synonymous with the zenith to which that discipline rose at that point in time. Taking the examples of Arts and Crafts garden-makers, Impressionist painters, Modern architects, and Modern sculptors: Miss Jekyll and her gardens; Claude Monet and his paintings; Le Corbusier and his buildings; Henry Moore and his sculptures. Sometimes however, recognition is posthumous, for example Vincent van Gogh. The interviewees (see Appendix I.) exhibited several common character traits. All have different backgrounds, but identified themselves as being artistic; all were emphatic that they did not consciously set out to be innovators; and all felt driven

to proselytise. Furthermore all are skilled communicators using both the spoken word and written word. The impression is of a group of people who positively enjoy expounding their ideas, the challenge of educating, and stirring emotions within others.

Innovation can only happen once, but examples of True Innovators producing many examples of a similar product exist, for example Miss Jekyll and her 300-plus garden commissions. The concept of Innovator Adaption is discussed in the next Chapter (see pp.53-55).

2. "Skilled Imitators" - individuals with a high level of artistic integrity and talent, but who adopt a True Innovator's product and adapt it in order to problem-solve. Taking the examples already used: a Skilled Imitator who adopted Miss Jekyll's innovation was Edna Walling:

"the key landscape designer to practice in Australia during the first half of this century. English born, she arrived in Australia c.1918, aged about 20. Her first works are English inspired, and appear to be strongly influenced by the writings of Gertrude Jekyll: pergolas, gates, fences, paths, and planting are virtually identical in concept and detail to those illustrated in her books." (31)

In the world of the Impressionists, Post-Impressionists and Neo-Impressionists:

"The rigorous analysis of natural light and colour in separate "points" of paint in the canvasses of Seurat and the other Neo-Impressionists of c.1886-9 owed much to Pissarro's handling of c.1880, and to the observation of natural colour seen especially in Monet's work," (32)

On the subject of Modern architects:

"Crawford's Advertising offices by Frederick Etchells, 1925, the Royal Corinthian Yacht Club by Joseph Emberton, 1930, and High and Over at Amersham by A Connell, 1930. Crawford's strikes me as being an intelligent adaptation of a Le Corbusier facade... Emberton's RCYC...must be one of the few buildings in the image of naval architecture (remember Le Corbusier's liners)...all this is inconceivable without Le Corbusier... Finally Connell's High and Over shrieks "Le Corbusier". (33)

And on Modern sculptors:

"Returning to the post-cubist group of younger sculptors, the organic abstract tradition of...Moore is represented in England by Barbara Hepworth, who is a younger contemporary of Moore, but who is

only now beginning to be better known outside England...Another Englishman, Bernard Meadows, was for many years an assistant in Moore's studio, and is today his closest follower," (34)

3. "Popularisers" - individuals

those who hold strong opinions, and are good publicists and self-promoters. Popularisers adopt a product and help build an enthusiasm for it, often through dissemination in the media. For example William Robinson and Sir Reginald Blomfield popularised two distinct garden-making styles. This is also an intriguing example because both authors were belligerent and fed off the adverse criticisms of the other.

CHAPTER 3.

The Matrix of Innovation.

Innovation ends with the arrival of "objective form". If an innovation is to evolve it must become a product and compete in the market place. The Matrix of Innovation is a theory constructed to explain how a new product may evolve. It is a framework within which interacting influences and processes operate on an environment, these independently and together affect the evolution and success (or not) of an innovative product. Whilst the Matrix is common to every innovative product, the environment is product-specific. The evolutionary process of a new flower border and a new painting will be the same, but the environments will be different. It must be pointed out at the outset that the web of forces and the environment are very complex and intricate; for all the hypotheses put forward, there will be exceptions. Furthermore, the Matrix identifies four consecutive and distinct stages, but in practice the activities are integral and inseparable.

Social Environment.

The theory proposes the concept of the "social environment". This is a nebulous rather than a tangible site where the forces and processes which affect product evolution react. Changes in society and population, changes in attitudes towards what is acceptable or desirable, technological developments, and increases in spending power, all influence the products necessary to satisfy today's and tomorrow's consumers (1). The changes in a dynamic society are difficult to

predict, but if an innovative product is to evolve, the social environment must be beneficent. For example, as society moved away from the vogue of sombre High Victorian towards a less austere fashion, so the social environments for many art forms also changed and enabled the successful evolution of new innovative products, for example in architecture, textiles and furniture.

Stages of Product Evolution.

1. Arrival and Emergence.

Creativity is spontaneous, inner-directed, and not usually capable of being elicited at will (see p.32). Therefore a continual supply of new and different ideas and innovative products will arrive at the social environment. Emergence is the point at which small numbers of customers become aware of the product, and begin to select it. An emerging product may be particularly suited to the social environment. For example from the group of Impressionist painters, Monet was the most successful. At the 1874 exhibition organised by the group of Impressionist artists it was Monet's picture *Impression, Sunrise* (1872) which several critics singled out as keynote of the show (2). In the garden, several design styles emerged in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (e.g. Arts and Crafts, Naturalistic, Italianate, English Renaissance). All achieved some success, but the Arts and Crafts was most successful.

An innovative product may arrive at a conducive social environment by chance. On the other hand an innovator can recognise a favourable social environment, and actively respond to it. John Brookes describes it thus:

"Innovation I believe is brought about by circumstance: it is catching a mood, seeing a gap and exploiting it." (3)

2. Establishment.

The product begins to be selected by an increasing number of consumers and demand for it may grow. The level of demand is a reflection of how successfully the product is competing with rivals. For consumers to make a choice in favour of the new product, they must be made aware of it. This is achieved by disseminating the product message.

Dissemination.

Three processes of disseminating were identified:

1. Innovator Dissemination - A True Innovator may disseminate his/her product message personally in order to educate, or to gain public recognition. Methods include the written word in journals or monographs, and the spoken word at interviews, lectures, conferences and meetings. This form of dissemination reflects two of the traits common to the interviewees: a desire to educate, and a

skill in communicating (see pp.42-43). Christopher Lloyd describes himself as a proselytiser and an experimenter. He was taught to express himself in writing at an early age, and enjoys teaching and communicating (4). His aim is to:

"make people curious and inquisitive and to want to find things out for themselves, not to be spoonfed." (5)

Mr Lloyd's desire to encourage gardeners to think, and his concern for the state of horticultural education for the amateur was echoed by other interviewees. Rosemary Verey observed that she writes because she wants to pass on a message about the things she feels "look good" and agreed with Mr Lloyd that "hands-on experience is a very important element in the education of the gardener" (6). John Brookes was also adamant about education:

"people have lost touch with landscape and countryside, they will sit in a car in the middle of a National Park but don't get out and feel, touch, smell and look. Conservation, ecology and education are all vital. We need to sell the message, the design input, ecology and hands-on all need to be pushed by educating." (7)

Adrian Bloom who now runs the family Nursery at Bressingham was responsible for popularising dwarf conifers and heathers. He also tries to educate and interest: "the 60% of gardeners who need leading (20% are keen, 20% never will be) using books and the media" (8).

Examples of innovators being poor communicators are uncommon. An example, however is Sir Edwin Lutyens. Although he could communicate well with clients, he never wrote extensively about his work, nor was he a confident public speaker (9).

2. Populariser Dissemination - the product may be discovered by other individuals who purposefully disperse details to an audience. An example would be a Populariser, or a third party (not directly associated with the media) who sees a product and writes about it in a periodical.

3. Media Dissemination - here one or more mediums assimilate a new idea and disseminate the product message.

The Media.

The media are powerful because they decide what product(s) are disseminated, and whether or not the coverage is positive. However a paradox, or trade-off exists in which market forces play a key role. Like all businesses the media are there to maximise profits by selling a successful product to a maximum audience (be this viewing, circulation, or listening figures). This can only be achieved by striking a delicate balance. On the one hand there is convention and tradition - presenting the audience with what they want: ideas which are comfortable, fashionable and compatible with the current social environment. On the other hand, there is originality - engendering the feeling in the recipient that "I have not received this

information before" by presenting new products which fit with changing social conditions.

Within society differing interest levels create a range of consumer demands to which the media tailor their products. Garden-making is a particularly good example. It is suggested that there are two main reader groups.

1. The Primary Reader Group. This group is made up of readers who want a high level of detail about the latest developments: creative group members, professionals, academics, journalists, and talented enthusiastic amateurs.
2. The Secondary Reader Group. This group is the amateur market extending to the general public. It is much larger than the Primary Group but demands a lower level of detail. The two audience groups may be supplied with new product information at the same time. For example, at the turn of the century both *The Gardener's Chronicle* and *The Gardener* promoted the wild garden.

An example of the complexity of the Matrix of Innovation is the subtle interaction of forces between the innovator who needs his product disseminated; the media which need new products to maintain consumer interest in their product; and the consumer who has various wants. For example Alan Bloom who has raised, introduced and named 170 new taxa observed: "Books, radio and T V all tend to give you a bit of an aura and this will influence people." (10)

He used the media to disseminate his island bed idea and to promote the use of his favourite group of plants - hardy herbaceous perennials. The consumer at that time also wished to move away from the ground-cover and shrubs which had come to dominate the post-second World war garden.

Several of the interviewees expressed concern that today the balance in the media is tilted towards tradition rather than innovation. Mr Lloyd is observed that:

"people are less minded to read now and are more interested in pictures, everything is laid out in an easily to look at format, a nice big spread that is not too testing to the intellect. Waiting Room literature has become very popular, more than the good read. The good read doesn't sell well." (11)

Mr Brookes also noted the popularity of pictures over text: "Authors are very important but pictures are more influential than text" (12). He was more forthright about the current state of the horticultural media:

"What bugs me is the media is so appalling. The telly could be doing a far better job than it does. It does some wonderful programmes but it does some bloody awful ones too. And the gardening magazines are rock bottom, but they're all craft of horticulture, and when they get into design its little bricky, bricky, bricky sort of yards that are horrid." (13)

Establishment is therefore a critical phase in the evolution of a product. It is dependent on its selection, which in turn is dependent on competition from other products, the suitability of the social environment, and positive publicity from the media.

However product establishment is no guarantee of long-term survival. A product may be out-competed by another more closely suited to the social environment. For example country houses designed in the Modern architectural style emerged during the inter-war period, established but did not survive.

3. Survival.

Product survival in the market place is dependent on successful competition against other products to maintain and/or expand consumer selection over alternatives. Three types of product selection were identified:

1. Innovator Adaptation. In response to consumer demand the True Innovator may use ingenuity in order to problem solve. The product is adapted (with appropriate modifications) to meet similar but distinct circumstances. To take the innovators already named: Miss Jekyll, Monet, Le Corbusier, and Moore. Miss Jekyll was innovative in her approach to the use of colour arrangements in planting schemes. The product was first expressed at Munstead but she used the product in many later commissions, for example, the colour border at Brackenbrough, and the single and mixed colour borders at Presaddfed (14).

Monet's painting style changed from the late-1880s, as he:

"gradually abandoned the principal tenet of Impressionism - the accurate and quasi-scientific transcription of observed phenomena - in favour of increasing emphasis on tonal harmonies and an interest in colour that depended more on the exigencies of painting than on fact." (15)

He produced a series of fifteen paintings of haystacks between 1888-1891. The theme of series became increasingly important. He produced the Poplars in 1891 and Morning on the Seine in 1897. The most famous series, the Water Lilies were painted between 1903-1908, and 1916-1926. Whilst the paintings are distinct and play heavily on mood and atmosphere, they are adaptations of a theme, Monet's innovative approach to paint work (16).

Le Corbusier was a revolutionary in his approach to functionalist architecture, but he also adapted his product. He developed his Dom-ino system of basic housing module in 1914. This went through two versions of the Citrohan house to the very influential Esprit Nouveau pavilion of 1925 (17).

Moore's sculptural interpretation of form was new but he executed many commissions based on his early expression:

"He does not try to make a woman of stone but a stone which

suggests a woman. It is this attitude which has given the artists of the twentieth century a new feeling for the values of the arts of the primitives." (18)

Grohmann (1966) illustrates thirty-five Moore sculptures of a Reclining Figure executed between 1928 and 1957/8 (19).

2. Skilled Imitator Adoption and Adaptation. Disciples of the innovator, students, and/or members of the same (or similar) creative groups may adopt and adapt the innovator's new product in order to problem solve. In doing so the product message will be spread. Those who manipulate someone else's concept(s) may fall into the categories of Skilled Imitators or Popularisers (see pp.43-45).

However a situation may arise in which creative a individual experience an innovative product and in turn create a new idea. An example was Lutyens who was strongly influenced by Webb's architecture, but who created a new form of country house and garden. This concept links with the observation the that previous experiences are a prerequisite to the Creative Process (see pp.35-36). It further raises the issue that nothing is entirely new, an hypothesis which is further examined on pp.69-70, and provides an example of how complicated the Matrix of Innovation is. A biological analogy could of this could be the evolution of a new species which embodies an new state, but which is closely built on an existing genotype.

3. Amateur Adoption and Adaption. The product may be selected and mimicked by the general public. At a psychological level Midgley (1977) proposed a schema for the diffusion of innovations, which he divided into two components, termed cognitive processes and social processes:

"Cognitive processes are those internal to the individual, in effect the mental states a person goes through in considering the adoption of a new idea or product. Social processes are the aggregation of these individual cognitive processes within a communication network," (20)

By "social" in social processes it means the particular system under study; and by "processes", the various patterns of social behaviour which are assumed to operate within this social system, in this case consumer markets (21).

Midgley stated that Rogers and Shoemaker put forward the original "innovation-decision process" in 1962. This was later modified by Rogers to take account of the fact that people may reject an innovation, and that they may engage in dissonance reducing activity after adoption. The later model proposed four stages:

"1. Knowledge. The individual is exposed to the innovation's existence and gains some understanding of how it functions.

2. Persuasion. The individual forms a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards the innovation.
3. Decision. The individual engages in activities which lead to a choice to adopt or reject the innovation.
4. Confirmation. The individual seeks reinforcement for the innovation-decision he has made, but may reverse his previous decision if exposed to conflicting messages about the innovation." (22)

It is the extent of selection by the general public which will determine whether the product survives, becomes dominant, or fails. Three types have been identified: selection of the innovator-adapted product; creative group adoption and adaption; and adoption by the general public.

It has been suggested that the social environment is continually changing. However, dramatic external factors may rapidly change the social environment and affect a product's survival. For example the first World war caused extreme change to the detriment of the Country House and Garden.

4. Dominance.

A dominant product is one which out-competes alternatives and is selected on a wide scale. In terms of an artistic product this may be seen in the form of mass adoption and adaptation.

Mass Adoption and Adaptation.

Mass adoption and adaption occurs when many individuals undergoes the innovation adoption process and select an artistic product, and alter it to meet individual circumstances. It is distinct from Amateur Adoption and Adaption because it involves all three types of selection. However garden-making in suburbia is a particularly good example of this phenomenon, as will be demonstrated in later chapters. If there is sufficient mass adoption and adaptation an identifiable presence may arise within gardens, a dominant product may termed a fashion.

Fashion.

Fashion is intriguing and perplexing, and exerts a powerful hold over people. Systems of fashion and cycles of popularity percolate throughout contemporary life. However fashion has no absolute or essential meaning, rather it operates in ways appropriate to particular habits or milieux. At a general level it is a process by which individuals and groups learn to be (visibly) at home with themselves in their

culture (23). From a consumer's standpoint, to follow a fashion is to make a statement of conformity, or the inverse, a declaration of rebellion. Systems of fashion operate in all social classes and over all aspects of life, for example: garden form, clothing, food, motor cars, literature and the visual arts. This is confirmed by Mrs Verey's comment that: "People copy things but innovation creates fashion." (24).

Nonetheless as social environments changes and new fashions consolidate, others decline. This suggests that conflicting processes are operating. A fashionable product can simultaneously dominate and out compete others, but at the same time it may also change the social environment which supported it and facilitate the invasion of a new product.

Ecological Analogy.

It was noted in Chapter 1 that analogies may exist between the evolution of a new artistic product and ecological succession. The following section illustrates the metaphor and helps to demonstrate the problems facing product evolution. Ecosystems are "non-equilibrium systems that have capacity for self-organization," (25). While ecosystems are tangible, they are analogous to social environments, and just as social environments exist for different types of product, so different types of ecosystems exist (e.g chalk downlands or wetland). Social environments change, and ecosystem development is "an active process involving changes in both the organisms and the physical environment." (26). The organisms equate to

human individuals and the physical environment to society as a whole. Ecological succession, the replacement of communities, one by another, on an area (27), is comparable with the evolution of a new product to the detriment of an existing one. The Matrix of Innovation identified four stages of evolution, and gave them titles with biological overtones. Taking the four stages the following analogies can be made:

Arrival and Emergence. This can be likened to the development of a pioneer community which develops on a new area (28). Seed arrives and if the particular environmental conditions are conducive they may. Even if the site is slightly unfavourable, the greater the amount of seed to arrive, the stronger the chances are that some will germinate. For example the large amount of seed produced by annuals such as crabgrass, horseweed, and ragweed during the early stages of old field succession in America (29).

Establishment. New products emerge all the time, but not all establish. Likewise if a seed of a new species is to germinate and develop, the current ecosystem characteristics must be within its limits of tolerance, "the set of conditions for some physical factor within which an organism or population can survive" (30). The more favourable the site, the higher the probability that seed will germinate. However it is during the germination and establishment phases that a seedling is at its most vulnerable. Where species share a resource, competition will occur and changes in abiotic factors may have a negative effect on establishment (31). Similarly a new product may face stiff competition from established products.

Survival. In the market place, product survival is dependent on its selection over its rivals. In an ecosystem, survival is partly dependent on competition from other species which may be better suited (32) and may out-compete to the detriment of an new species. It is also influenced by external factors. For example at high levels of disturbance, the species list may perhaps be reduced to the species best able to tolerate the habitat conditions so produced (33).

Dominance. This is the control exerted by an organism on the character and composition of an ecosystem. For example one oak will be more dominant than one daisy. However, for a species whose individuals are not able to dominate a system, dominance may arise if many individuals manage to become established as a community. For example in an over-grazed grassland spiny, ill-tasting or tough plant species replace those which are preferred by the animals, or which cannot withstand being trampled (34). Nonetheless communities and ecosystems are dynamic, and they change constantly. Organisms themselves affect the physical environment through their reactions, thereby altering conditions and indirectly affecting other organisms (35). An example is an oak tree. It is rare for an oak to regenerate below a mature oak. The oak has changed the conditions of the site to the detriment of its long term survival, but to the benefit of other species. Similarly a dominant product may detrimentally affect its social environment.

This ecological metaphor demonstrates the strong parallels which exist between artistic product evolution and ecological succession. Furthermore the ecological examples illustrate that the factors which affect a species are multifarious and

interactive, and many are detrimental to survival. A similar situation exists in product evolution. A new product has many difficulties to overcome if it is to establish, survive, and perhaps become dominant. It is not possible to describe every interaction that affects the evolution of a particular product, just as it is not possible to list every interaction that results in the dominance of a particular oak tree. Thus the Matrix of Innovation provides a framework and identifies the stages of evolution which may be used to help explain the development of a particular product.

An Example of the Matrix in Operation.

Although examined in greater detail later, the evolution of the Edwardian Country House Garden provides a good example of the product evolution. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century society changed and reacted against the extravagance and opulence of design characterised by the High Victorian. The Arts and Crafts Movement was born in antagonism to the mass-production industries. Its negative attitude to the machine was eclipsed by its positive achievement in re-introducing integrity and originality back into design (36). The economy also changed. Between 1880 and 1900 the agricultural depression caused a slump in land prices. Many of the upper classes who relied on land for their income were forced to sell. By 1900 those involved in business, the *nouveau riche* were gaining their peerages and entering the exclusive world of country house owner (37).

Socio-economic changes were matched in various social environments, for example garden-making and architecture. The creation of the Lutyens/Jekyll partnership found expression on a wholly new site at Orchards in 1898 (38). The product arrived at a favourable social environment. It was favourably received both by clients and the media and established as the product message was disseminated. At the same time other creative individuals also promulgated garden-making ideas, for example William Robinson, Sir Reginald Blomfield, and Thomas Mawson. Nevertheless the Lutyens/Jekyll product was particularly suited to the social environment, it survived the competition and came to dominate the pre-war country house and garden. The long list of commissions not only demonstrates this, but also is an example of Innovator Adaptation - the use of ingenuity in order to problem solve (see p.53). Their product message was also disseminated by the amateur gardening press. There was mass adoption and adaption by the smaller garden owner and an identifiable presence arose within suburban gardens. Within the space of 16 years, between its first expression in 1898 and the outbreak of the first World war in 1914, the partnership's innovative product had evolved to fashion status both in the large country and smaller suburban garden.

Commercial Product Evolution.

The following two sub-sections are included as a comparison: first between the Matrix of Innovation and commercial product evolution; and second between creation - the emergence of a new idea, and the commercial new product development process. The Product Life Cycle is the pattern of development

(evolution) and decline experienced by the commercial new product (39). Various authors broke down the Life Cycle into stages, Pessemer (1966) suggested:

- "1. *Introduction*: The period during which the product is being introduced to *resellers and final buyers*.
2. *Growth*: The period during which the product is gaining acceptance and finding its natural place in the market.
3. *Competitive*: The period during which competitive offerings are appearing and finding their natural places in the market.
4. *Obsolescence*: The period during which the product's competitive disadvantages indicate that the product will soon need modification or replacement.
5. *Termination*: The period during which the product is phased out in favour of an improved product or is dropped from the line."

(40)

Midgley (1977) observed that the stages "introduction, growth, maturity, and decline come from a somewhat nebulous biological analogy" (41); whilst Andrews (1975) names the phases: "birth of a new product, growth into maturity, eventual demise and decline" (42). All presented a graphical representation of the Life

Cycle, and agreed that the shape of the curve is by no means as neat in real life (43), see Illustration 1. The finite lifespan of a commercial product emphasises the need for new product development. Similarities exist between the evolution of an innovative product and commercial product evolution, not least in the use of biological analogies. Nevertheless the main difference is the amount of work undertaken in the commercial sector prior to a new product launch - the commercial new product process. Product development in the commercial sector is more controlled, whilst in the artistic world it is more volatile.

The Commercial New Product Process.

New product development is essential to the survival of all companies (44). As Midgley stated:

"To enjoy sustained, profitable and relatively rapid growth it is necessary to develop and introduce new products successfully." (45)

Where the destination of the creative journey is known the route taken is problem solving (see p.32). The commercial new product process can:

"be broken down into manageable stages for planning and control. Study of case histories reveals that there are six clear stages, although the labels for such stages vary from company to company.

EXPLORATION - the search for product ideas to meet company objectives.

SCREENING - a quick analysis to determine which ideas are pertinent and merit more detailed study.

BUSINESS ANALYSIS - the expansion of the idea, through creative analysis, into a concrete business recommendation including product features and a program for the product.

DEVELOPMENT - turning the idea-on-paper into a product-in-hand, demonstrable and producible.

TESTING - the commercial experiments necessary to verify earlier business judgements.

COMMERCIALIZATION - launching the product in full-scale production and sale, committing the company's reputation and resources." (46)

Andrews also recognised that ideas: "go through various stages of development which typically include:

1. Development into product briefs,
2. Formulation into recipes, formulae or product prototypes,
3. Concept research,
4. Product testing,
5. Market evaluation,
6. Test market,
7. National launch." (47)

The two main differences between the Creative Process resulting in a creation and innovation, and the commercial new product process are: the ability to break the process down into a series of manageable steps; and the extensive pre-launch product testing. To use the journey metaphor once again, the new commercial product voyage has a departure point (the need to provide the company with a new product), the route it is clearly signposted, and the journey is made in planned and controlled stages. Furthermore, corporate backing enables informed judgements to be made about the success or failure of a product prior to large scale investment, and the "arrival" of a new product. This was observed by Andrews:

"A great deal of effort has been brought to bear by marketing-orientated companies...on the introduction of marketing disciplines to reduce the risk in product development." (48)

In comparison it is neither possible to control the Creative Process, nor condition a social environment to favourably receive an innovative product. However an

innovator may try and direct their creative behaviour towards a favourable social environment (see p.48).

Parallel Innovation.

The study has revealed that the Matrix of Innovation is complex and has many threads. Parallel innovation is another instance of this. Parallel innovation is the concept that more than one individual with a shared creative direction, but with differing experiences and minds, may introduce the same new product in different places. These may be geographically and/or temporally disparate. An example of the former is Nylon, discovered almost simultaneously in New York and London (hence its name) by separate research groups. An example of the latter is William Mason's late-eighteenth century "kidney-shaped" flower beds at Nuneham Courtenay and Alan Bloom's island bed of the 1950s . However Mr Bloom expressed no specific knowledge of Mason's work and described how his borders arose:

"I had to think of new ideas which ran counter to the propaganda for shrubs and ground cover...Although I am credited with being the inventor of the island bed, somebody else must have done it before, but didn't shout about it like I did." (49)

Bloom's island bed was a marketing idea to popularise perennials (as well as to display his favourite type of plant). The garden at Bressingham had a role in

attracting visitors to see the possibilities of using perennials, which he could then sell through his nursery. The first seven beds in 1957 became forty-seven by 1962 (50). The island bed has evolved further with:

"Many of the visual characteristics of the island bed...(are) repeated in the new American romantic style of Oehme and van Sweden."

(51)

A twentieth century example of two temporally separate individuals who independently produced similar products is that of Beth Chatto and Miss Jekyll. Mrs Chatto in an informal comment at a Symposium (unfortunately not recorded in the papers distributed at the Symposium) observed that it had been suggested by some that she had been influenced by Miss Jekyll, when at the time she had been unaware of Miss Jekyll's work (52).

The Concept that Nothing is Wholly New.

The Creative Process is partly dependent on previous experiences (see pp.35-36). It is therefore argued that nothing can be wholly new, because to experience something necessitates its existence. Therefore creation cannot bring about anything wholly new, rather it is a new amalgam of the existing, with the added input of "self". For example, colour had been discussed in relation to planting arrangements before Miss Jekyll (e.g. Loudon in his *Encyclopedia of Gardening* suggested it for the herbaceous border), but Miss Jekyll used the colour theory

techniques learned at the School of Art in South Kensington (53), her friendship with Hercules Brabazon, and her vast plant knowledge and garden setting to paint with plants. The planting arrangements were new, the creation was her personal combination of a previous experiences with self.

Furthermore recombinations of ideas occur at various levels of organisation. The larger or more complex the new product, the greater will be the number of (existing) recombined elements. For example, a plantsman may specifically breed a new plant; a designer may create a new type of colour border; a new form of compartmented garden will require assimilation of features and plants; and a new landscape garden will require organisation of features, topography, plants, and possibly the natural landscape. Taking the motor car as another example, the recombination of ideas at various levels of organisation could include the development of component parts, for example a fuel injection system; a new engine design; or a combination of new products to make a new car. Therefore innovation in society is made up of a myriad of small component changes. It is possible to identify, name and characterise the results of the continuous evolution of a particular field, be it garden-making, architecture, painting, motor car design, or physics.

Summary.

Within the Creative Process the highly creative individual must be receptive to external stimuli; must be able to recall and process these at a conscious and a subconscious level; and must have the benefits of a conducive external environment within which to express themselves. Beyond this is the special ephemeral input of the totality of person. To create is to give birth to a new idea in the conscious. To innovate is to give physical form to the mental concept. At this point innovation has finished, but new product may evolve.

The Matrix of Innovation is the combination of the social environment and a series of forces which act upon it. The social environment is a nebulous facet of society as a whole, and specific to a particular art form or subject, for example garden-making. New innovative products continually arrive at the social environment. Their subsequent establishment, survival, and dominance are a result of the forces operating within society and on the social environment. These forces are complex and interactive, and include societally perceived wants, dissemination and the media, the innovation adoption process, mass adoption and adaption, fashion, and random chance. However conflicting processes also operate. Product dominance may alter the social environment which enabled its establishment and survival. This in turn may allow the emergence and establishment of a new product to its detriment.

In contrast to the unpredictable nature of the Creative Process and the complex

Matrix of Innovation, the commercial new product process and commercial product development are more fully understood, and more manipulatable due to the problem solving nature of the process.

This section ends with the hypothesis that due to the role of past experiences in the Creative Process nothing is wholly new, and that creation is an amalgam of the existing rearranged with the input of self. Taking this further, the more complex the new product, the larger the number of recombined elements.

SECTION II.
THE EDWARDIAN GARDEN.

CHAPTER 4.

**Innovation in the Country House Garden and
New Product Arrival.**

Introduction.

Today the years before the first World war tend to be viewed through rose-tinted spectacles. It was the last period of great wealth accumulation by the few, of great house and garden building, and weekend parties in the country. However it is necessary to place the country house in context. Between 1880 and 1900 there was an agricultural depression and a slump in land prices. Land at this time was still enjoyed by the upper classes who relied on it for their income. Many were forced to sell. At the same time those involved with business, previously excluded from this social elite of gentrified estate-owners were making fortunes in newspapers, tobacco, gold, shipping and other ventures in the City. By 1900 the *nouveaux riches* were reversing the roles, gaining their peerages and entering the exclusive world of country house owner. There was, however, never full integration (1). Aslet (1982) identified two distinct types of country house. On the one hand the marble-clad establishment full of the latest gadgets and fashions from London:

"The purpose of the smart country house was principally social, and the pace was set by the hosts and hostesses vying to entertain the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII). Their houses were conceived as the settings for that governing class, remorseless in the opulence of its tastes," (2)

On the other hand, the house designed without such ostentation for a group known as the Souls, the "aristocratic intellectual elite" and others who shared their views. This group had a feeling of "...what seemed a less artificial, a more genuinely rural, or possibly a more artistic or literary existence." A sense of the past, concern for rural crafts, old fashioned solid Englishness were what made up the "romantic" country house (3).

Perhaps the most typical owners in each category were William Dodge James, the American at West Dean Park in the former; Edward Hudson, founder of *Country Life* in the latter (4). Hudson, an inarticulate and plain man, is equally important for championing Edwin Lutyens through personal patronage (at the Deanery Gardens, Lindisfarne Castle and Plumpton Place), recommendations and introductions, and perhaps most significantly by mass exposure through *Country Life* (5).

Despite the relatively large number of country houses for sale as result of the agricultural depression, demand from the new wealthy exceeded the supply of suitable dwellings, and many new country houses were built. The Catalogue of *The*

Last Country Houses listed 178 country houses in England and Wales. Fifty-two (29%) were commenced or altered pre-1900, ninety-six (54%) between 1900 and 1918, and only thirty (17%) were built, restored or changed between 1919 and 1939 (6).

The Edwardian Country House.

As society changed so did the architectural social environment. Accompanying the Domestic Revival of the late-Victorian period came innovation in house design. Its first expression can be traced to the Red House at Upton near Bexleyheath in Kent, designed by Philip Webb (1831-1915) for William Morris (1834-1896) and built in 1861 (7). Morris and other Mediaevalists coveted the Middle Ages, when a product was closely associated with the craftsman who made it. Morris worked for the revival of the craftsman. He wanted to knock art off its pedestal - to make everybody an artist, to relate art to everything and to promote a better relationship between the artist and his product (8). Thus the Arts and Crafts Movement was born in antagonism to the new industries. Its negative attitude to the machine was eclipsed by its positive achievement in re-introducing integrity and originality back into design (9).

According to Barrett & Phillips (1987), Webb's design for the Red House was innovative for it was the first expression of a new form of architecture. Conder (1949) also observed that the Red House was startlingly original:

"Unpretentious and free from applied styles of contemporary taste it resembled a humble vernacular building, frank in expression of purpose and material. It became the spiritual home of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the prototype which made vernacular traditions respectable" (10).

There was considerable creative group adoption of Webb's product, by a group of Skilled Imitators and a whole generation of new architects developed simpler, more fundamental vernacular forms. R. Norman Shaw (1831-1912) freed architecture from the strict disciplines of accepted styles and evolved in their place personal styles, rich in mannerism and invention. His buildings showed a personal liberty of design outside the then current practice of the Gothic Revival. Nevertheless he did not reject Victorian Eclecticism. On the contrary he infused it with new vigour and carried it forward into the twentieth century. He did most to popularise the use of vernacular styles and ultimately changed the face of suburbia through the so-called Queen Anne style which he developed in the 1870s (11).

C F A Voysey (1857-1941) with his motto "fitness is the basis of beauty" was probably the most original of this new school of English domestic architects. He did not aim at novelty nor did he reject the past unconditionally. His work was always flavoured with period rusticity. Following the change in public taste towards fresh air and gaiety he used light colours and refreshingly simple interiors (12).

However it was Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) upon whom Webb was an early influence (13) who more than any other architect has come to epitomise the Edwardian expression of Arts and Crafts vernacular architecture. The skill of his architecture, the happy marriage of site with local materials and techniques is arguably without comparison during his lifetime. Elliott (1995) quotes Lawrence Weaver's 1921 comments: "For all his faithfulness to tradition, Sir Edwin presses on his work a personal quality that is unmistakable and that eludes the copyist". Weaver named the main characteristics of Lutyens as invention and "a rich changefulness of ideas", and found in his work proof that "in the new arrangement of traditional forms...there is room for infinite originality" (14). Lutyens was an example of a True Innovator who took existing ideas, added the totality of "self" and created a new idea. However according to Aslet (1982), the fact that Lutyens' career developed at such a meteoric speed was in part due to his astounding early development and in part to his being championed by Miss Jekyll (15).

By 1914 the conducive social environment and consumer selection had enabled the establishment, survival, and dominance of the Arts and Crafts country house. Those who could not afford to build a new country house would restore a cottage. This in turn provided a new model for the suburbs and for those further down the social scale who wished to emulate countryside living (16). Nevertheless the Arts and Crafts Vernacular was not ubiquitous. As both Aslet and Ottewill (1989) observed, other architectural styles were used for country properties. For example the Renaissance Revival was lead by Sir Reginald Blomfield, Ernest Newton and Mervyn Macartnet, the last two both pupils of Shaw (17). As Aslet put it:

"Style itself was no longer a matter of burning contention, and most architects - unlike their Gothic predecessors - were equally happy using a wide range of styles. However, there was still lingering a conflict between formal and informal values, between Classical planning and the use of romantically weathered materials. Its ideal resolution was not found in the house itself, but within the Edwardian garden - whether geometrically planned but with a self-conscious hint of desuetude, or wistfully evoking the Roman Campagna on misty English hills." (18)

Debate on the Direction of Garden Design.

The boom in house building was matched by garden-making. This was recognised by the garden designer Edward White (1873-1952) who in 1913 noted that there had been "a marked development in the planning of English gardens, particularly those of moderate extent." (19). The garden was an essential adjunct to the country house. Not only did it provide the setting for the house, it also served as a place in which to relax, to entertain, and to display the owner's wealth and taste.

As with architecture, the changes in society created a conducive social environment for changes in garden-making. By 1900 there was a debate raging about the "proper" approach to garden design, between those who believed in a formal garden designed by the architect, and those who desired an informal garden designed by the horticulturist. Three Popularisers were central to this "Battle of

Styles". In January 1892 Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942) and F Inigo Thomas (1866-1950) published *The Formal Garden in England* (20), a year after the posthumous appearance of John Dando Sedding's (1838-1891) *Garden-Craft Old and New* (21). Blomfield was a leading advocate for the return to the sober classicism of Wren. He presented the case for the revival of the "refinement and reserve" of the seventeenth-century garden: a series of spaces divided by walls or clipped hedges simply planned and proportioned in relation to the house and incorporating other architectural features such as raised terraces, gazebos, broad walks, alleys and lawns, flower beds (planted to enhance the formal layout) and symmetrically arranged entrance forecourts (22). Thomas, who did the pen-and-ink drawings and much of the research for the book had been laying out country house gardens in the formal style for a number of years. An educated (Pembroke College, Oxford) and well-connected man (first cousin to the Marquis of Willingdon and Sir George Sitwell, and nephew to William Brodrick Thomas one of the leading Victorian landscapists), Thomas trained as an architect and travelled widely in the 1890s. Between 1893 and 1894 he completed an extensive survey of Italian gardens. Perhaps his best known garden is Athelhampton (near Dorchester) in the formal Italianate style (23). In 1900 he wrote a series of five articles for *Country Life*. "Of Garden Making" (24) opened with a taunt "Garden making has always been an architectural matter." Thomas proceeded to regale the reader with a rather selective garden history promoting the English Renaissance style.

Sedding, like William Morris was imbued with a love of nature and the English landscape. His plea likewise was to revive the crafts. He substituted the more

architectural features of the Blomfield (or Thomas) garden with clipped hedges, topiary and shrubs. Sedding desired more variety in height and form to soften the overall geometry (25). The two books incensed the fiery Irishman, William Robinson (1838-1935). Robinson championed the Natural approach towards garden design where hardy plants dominated and were arranged to best display the individual beauties of the plants. He saw the books as:

"an attack on all the ground he had regained from the formalists in twenty years of toil" (26).

Robinson's *The Wild Garden* had been published in 1870 (27) and *The English Flower Garden* in 1883 (28), and he replied to the formalists in *Garden Design and Architects' Gardens* (29). He vitriolically attacked architects who "meddled" with gardens. His ire was particularly focused on Blomfield and Sedding, but the Victorian designers Barry and Nesfield also came under attack. Robinson's arguments were dogmatic and aggressive, and he seemed surprised and angry that anyone should take issue with his views. Nevertheless Blomfield did open himself up to a goodly degree of criticism.

Robinson's *bête noire* was the Victorian parterre (30) which received short shrift in *The Garden Beautiful Home Woods and Home Landscape* (31). He also waged war against bedding and the "Italian" style, a term coined to cover a multiplicity of styles including the French, Dutch, and English. Unfairly Robinson used "formal" as a synonym for "architectural". A distinction must be made:

Robinson's dislike was formal planting, he did not object to formality in the layout of the flower garden near the house, but: "*never* as regards the arrangement of its flowers and shrubs." (32).

Had Robinson and Blomfield made a greater attempt to understand each other they might have realised that despite differences of opinion, they shared a common "enemy". Both detested extremes of tortured formality, choosing the Italianate Crystal Palace as the epitome of what was wrong with garden design. Furthermore both admired Elizabethan gardens: the straight walks, necessarily architectural steps and filled flower borders (33). There were other links, for example Sedding was a founder member of the Art Workers Guild (and its second master after William Morris). Blomfield was a member and knew the Pre-Raphaelites with whom Robinson had links through his friend Vernon Lushington (34).

The authors were all members of a creative group, but not True Innovators. None of the ideas were new: Blomfield, Thomas and Sedding based their suggestions on historical precedent, whilst *The English Flower Garden* was "not so much one man's book as an anthology of the gardening practices of its generation." (35), and Robinson as a "literary magpie" (36). Furthermore Robinson's earlier *The Wild Garden*: "coined a catchy new label, but the practices...described were long-established" (37). It is argued therefore that the authors were Popularisers (see p.45). However a case may be made for naming Robinson as a True Innovator for his *Alpine Flowers for Gardens* (38) for it was: "the first detailed book on the subject" (39).

Additional Popularisers also promulgated their ideas. Thomas H Mawson and his brothers established Lakeland Nurseries in 1884 with Thomas responsible for the landscaping business. In 1900 he published the very successful *Art and Craft of Garden Making* (40) which ran to five editions. Following the format of Kemp's *How to Lay Out a Garden* (1850), Mawson filled the book with examples primarily of his own work. The publication was timely for it met the growing need for technical guidance on garden layout (41). Mawson's formal designs were influenced by the Mediaeval and Renaissance garden and he acknowledged the influence of Repton and Kemp. However in his later work he developed a strong axial tendency, probably influenced by Baron (42).

Italian Renaissance Gardens were another rediscovery. Edith Wharton's *Italian Villas and Their Gardens* (43) first published in 1903 was quickly reprinted in 1904. From the *Country Life* stable came the excellently photographed *Gardens of Italy* (44). Sir George Sitwell, an avid lover of Renaissance gardens, visited over 200 whilst recovering from a nervous break-down. He tried to capture their spirit at his seat, Renishaw Hall in Derbyshire. The fruits of his research and development of Renishaw were published in *An Essay on the Making of Gardens* subtitled *A Study of Old Italian Gardens, of the Nature of Beauty, and the Principles Involved in Garden Design* (45). Sitwell's English was lyrical, the imagery powerful. Paramount were the relationship of garden to the landscape; and the perception of the garden, with its appreciation by all the senses (46). Whilst commending the works of Sedding, Blomfield and Thomas he added that:

"the formal garden in England falls short of the great examples of the Italian Renaissance; it is seldom related as it should be to the surrounding scenery; it is often wanting in repose and nearly always in imagination." (47)

From the fire of debate one garden form came to dominate - the Arts and Crafts vernacular based on a return to Englishness. The True Innovator who led this movement was Miss Jekyll (1843-1932). In 1882 she bought a 15-acre plot of land, and in October 1897 finally moved into her new house - Munstead Wood, the day after receiving the Royal Horticultural Society's highest accolade, The Victoria Medal of Honour (48). The house was designed by Lutyens and built in the spirit of the local traditions: an early and enthusiastic example of the application of the Arts and Crafts principles inspired by the writings of Ruskin and Morris and the work of Webb (49).

Miss Jekyll and her Innovation.

Miss Jekyll was an omni-competent artist. She had attended a two-year course at the School of Art in South Kensington where she studied painting, colour theory, Turner's paintings. She knew Ruskin, Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones whom she met whilst pursuing her interests in painting, nature, and the crafts (50); and Robinson whom she met in his Covent Garden offices in 1875 (51). She developed a friendship with Hercules Brabazon, whose obsession with capturing light in his watercolours had a great influence on her (52). She had also

travelled widely in Europe visiting many of the notable gardens (53). By the age of about thirty she was described as a paragon of energetic activity and artistic talent and master of:

"carving, modelling, house painting, carpentry, smith's work, repoussé work, gilding, wood-inlaying, embroidery, gardening, and all manner of herb and flower knowledge and culture" (54)

Therefore when Miss Jekyll "retired" to Munstead Wood and turned to gardening, she had a wealth of experiences lodged in her conscious and subconscious, including travel - identified by Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe as so important to the Creative Process (see p.36). Munstead Wood was the cradle of her creativity and innovation. It provided psychological freedom and safety, the environment most conducive to maximising creativity (see pp.33-34). Miss Jekyll used the principles of colour theory to paint garden pictures with plants. Her new idea was first published as a chapter in *The English Flower Garden* and expanded upon in her ninth monograph, *Colour in the Flower Garden* (1908). Elliott (1995) suggests:

"The first of Jekyll's innovations to become widely accepted was in the planting of the mixed or herbaceous border. (The distinction between the terms lies not in a type of gardening but in the context of discussion: if colour planning was being discussed, it was the mixed border; if historical revivalism was being discussed it became the herbaceous border.) Borders were traditionally planted in rows

or blocks: Jekyll recommended planting them in large, irregular masses instead, so that the plants would be grouped in pseudo-natural drifts. By the turn of the century this advice was being widely followed" (55)

Miss Jekyll displayed another characteristic common to True Innovators, she was an accomplished writer and proselytiser. Her ideas and principles were disseminated in periodical articles and monographs. Her first book *Wood and Garden* (56) was based in part on "Notes from Garden and Woodland" which she had contributed to *The Guardian* from April 1896 to July 1897. It was published in 1899 and by 1904 had reached its 10th impression. Miss Jekyll's approach to gardening, her love of the countryside, of traditional crafts, and her refreshing relaxed almost poetical prose hit a note. The following quote from *Country Life* summarised her writings well:

"...(they) are marked by an intimate knowledge of Nature, lay great fascination of style, and by a certain quality of sagacity and shrewdness, in which is to be found, for this deponent at any rate, their principal charm. Sometimes, too, her prose passages are marked by so much of melody and rhythm, by so close an appreciation of the beauty of Nature and of the goodness of the ways of the old world, that they are at least akin to poetry." (57)

Her writings were hugely popular, thirteen more monographs followed *Wood and*

Garden in the next nineteen years (three were jointly written, and one was a pamphlet of 12pp.), and numerous articles were published in *Country Life* and *The Garden* (58), the latter she also co-edited in 1900. Through her writings and the media Miss Jekyll disseminated her product to a wide audience. Its popularity was marked by the fact that Miss Jekyll inspired a new generation of gardeners (59). Perhaps a comparison can be drawn with Christopher Lloyd who himself thought that he and Miss Jekyll had much in common (61)⁶⁰. Both experienced a clement environment in which to experiment, both were omni-competent artists (in interview Lloyd observed he had abilities as a flower arranger and embroider), both wished to proselytise, and both achieved this through the elegantly written word. Furthermore both had strong conviction of their beliefs and created without due concern of criticism.

The Lutyens/Jekyll Partnership Innovative Product.

As well as Jekyll's innovation in gardening, the product of the Lutyens/Jekyll partnership was also innovative. Together they:

"created a new English garden: inventively geometrical, using local materials in local ways, and filled with planting which was simultaneously disciplined and profuse...Always it consulted the genius of the place and the character of the owners." (61)

The first partnership commission of any size was at the existing Crooksbury House (near Farnham) (62). Unfortunately no sketches or drawings survive and the house and garden have been altered (63). However Woodside in Buckinghamshire (1893) showed themes which came to represent the partnership's work: an architectural framework with yew-enclosed borders, the formality softened with luxuriant planting (64). Their first commission for a wholly new house and garden was Orchards in 1898. Ottewill's description is an excellent summary of their innovation:

"Orchards was the first masterpiece to spring from the partnership and is especially notable for its unity with the house. A new-found confidence was apparent, and materials, both plants and paving, were treated with restraint. Already the main formal characteristics of their style were established: the projection of the lines of the house outward along routes and vistas; the multiplication of the forms and materials of the house thereby increasing its apparent size; and the subsequent breaking down of these forms by clothing them with luxuriant, informal planting. In the "Dutch" garden especially, as A S G Butler observed, not only does the planting "blur the outlines of both the house and the terrace and so combine them" but also "the counter-curving steps are in scale with and reflect in form the loggia arches. Both house and garden appear to grow out of the ground." (65)

Summary.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a debate was raging about the direction of the country house and its garden, and various forms and styles were practised and disseminated by diverse practitioners. Changes in society were matched with those in the architectural and garden-making social environments. A new form of architecture arose, and of the new architects, Lutyens was the most influential. In her garden Miss Jekyll was innovative, and together with Lutyens created an innovative country house and garden.

CHAPTER 5.

Emergence of the Arts and Crafts Vernacular

Country House Garden.

The Country House Garden in 1900.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the country house garden in 1900 and to establish its status as a base line or control, against which change over the next fourteen years is to be measured and explained. One source is pre-eminent for its extensive coverage of the country house garden. In 1897, on the suggestion of his solicitor, Edward Hudson changed the name of a not very profitable paper from *Racing Illustrated* to *Country Life* (1). Girouard (1979) suggested:

"It was started because the country and all that it stood for was being threatened by industrialization and the growth of towns." (2)

Published weekly at the large sum of one shilling, *Country Life* proclaimed itself: "*The Journal for all interested in Country Life and Country Pursuits*". *Country Life* assumed that rural life was better than urban life, and the life of the country gentleman was best of all. This was echoed in the romantic portrayal of Britain, its countryside, country pursuits, the threats to it, and of course the country house and garden. It appealed to romantic businessmen who resolved to enter this world when fortunes had been made; and to the established country house owners who enjoyed the admiration shown in what they had, and took for granted (3).

In 1898 a weekly series began which was to run for forty-two years. "Country Homes, Gardens Old and New" described and photographically recorded country houses and their gardens. The general format of the 1900 articles (which described forty-nine seats) was as follows: of approximately five sides in length, the text gave a brief history of the site, house, owner's ancestry, and a fairly comprehensive examination of the current garden. Scattered throughout the commentary were high-quality captioned black-and-white photographs. However the emphasis placed on the garden varied considerably. For example, at Munstead Wood (misnamed Munstead House) it was extensive (4), whilst a mere paragraph sufficed for Burley-on-Hill (5). Unfortunately in subsequent years garden coverage suffered a continual decline. The hypothesis that horticulture within the Hudson publishing empire shifted to *The Garden* was not substantiated. There was not a reciprocal rise in country house garden visits in *The Garden*. An alternative suggestion is that the *Country Life* author(s), some of whom were not named, did not consider the garden as important. Nonetheless it is odd that Hudson, himself an avid garden-lover, allowed such a change in editorial policy. Despite contacting *Country Life* it was not possible to ascertain either the missing author(s) name(s), or editorial policy at that time. The first conclusion to be drawn from an examination of the articles is that the diversity within gardens in 1900 precludes absolute classification of every garden. Some had changed little over the centuries, for example Ightham Mote (6); some had parts altered, for example, Chatsworth (7); others were wholly new, for example Crooksbury (8) and Cragside (9). Second, many gardens were the result of development by successive generations, an amalgam of various "bits" (garden compartments or features) which

survived from earlier garden layouts. The following examples demonstrate the variety of features which mingled together within the same garden. At Stanwick Park the Italianate mixed with hardy herbaceous flowers, Victorian bedding schemes with informal pleasure grounds, and topiary with *ferme ornée* buildings:

"The Italianate garden on the south side of the house was laid out by Mr. Nesfield, and is enclosed by a balustrade wall, surmounted by appropriate classic vases. The area is divided by a wide gravel path, and there is a beautiful fountain of Aberdeen granite, while in the centre of each half of the garden on high pedestals, stand reproductions of Borghese and Medici vases. All the walks and flower beds have stone edgings, and variety is given to an admirable effect by the suitable disposition of fine Irish yews, junipers and standard hollies...Another flower garden adorns the west side of the house, and, like the Italian garden is filled with beautiful sub-tropical and other plants...The French garden...is a walled pleasance, radiant with flowers...and is situated a short distance from the house on the east side, the southern wall being arcaded, giving views across the grounds and deer park. Picturesqueness is added by the presence of an ornamental dairy in the arched wall, octagonal in shape, and raised above the general level,...On the east side, in a line with the dairy, is a stone archway giving access to the terrace to the radiant space where stands the fine conservatory...filled with exotics, palms, etc. To the right of the

conservatory is the orchid house...Some years ago when bedding plants were so popular, and hardy flowers almost swept away, a fine collection of these was always retained at Stanwick. The gardens cover about seven acres and the pleasure grounds twenty acres. To the north west and not far from the house there is a small irregularly shaped lake." (10)

Bowood had an Italianate terrace by Charles Barry which rubbed shoulders with an "old-fashioned" flower garden, a pinetum, and a Brownian landscape and lake (11). The new gardens at Esher Place (12), see Illustrations 2 & 3, overlaid those of William Kent:

"Time taste and excellent judgement accordingly rule the pleasure grounds, and at every turn,...we discover some new and subtle charm. Here leaving the terrace we find ourselves in an old English gardenworld, with trim yew hedges enclosing great masses of flowering plants. A few steps we enter the charmingly quaint and delightful retreat of "My Lady's Garden", where a red bricked wall backed by great masses of foliage enframes quaint figures sculptured in stone (which) look out upon yew hedges, sweet lavender borders, masses of white marguerite and gladioli, the orange-red Montbretia Pottsi, the peach-leaved bell-flower and many more gay denizens of the parterre....sweet arbour-like pergola with gay wisteria...In the midst of this sweet garden... a dial stands.

On another side (of the house) there is a garden quite unlike the one we have surveyed - a French garden it is called - and gay Henry Jacoby pelargoniums and other flowers scarcely less brilliant are there, harmonized by the green of the turf and the sober tints of the trees... Shadowy walks in the sylvan land, kitchen and fruit gardens and the cottage garden, surrounded by old walls, some of them creeper-clad, with borders of monthly roses, lavender and love-lies-bleeding (are) very charming in sweet simplicity." (13)

Although "architecture has no great place in these pleasure grounds...", at Castle Bromwich (14) the formal terraces, steps, walls and an orangery mixed with Yew hedges, enclosures, and the geometrical Victorian bedding schemes set in gravel, see Illustrations 4 & 5. The text however, suggested the garden was "Old English". Wollaton (15) had a flower garden:

"laid out with fanciful beds and planted in the freehand style of bedding. Summer annuals and herbaceous plants find a place there as well as the more formal bedding plants." (16)

Illustrations showed the top terrace walks and flower garden, and a rosary very similar to the one at Rockingham Castle (17). Nevertheless the lower terrace "...was converted into a wilderness garden, and planted shrubs and rare trees." The great flower garden at Hall Place (18) was the principal feature. However this highly extravagant carpet bedding scheme co-existed with a "...broad expanse of

turf and...rich thickets of ornamental trees and shrubs" (19). This panorama was displayed over the croquet lawn from the herbaceous-edged and sundialed terrace with its gravel paths and embellished steps.

The third conclusion is that certain gardens did display a dominant style. These fell broadly into five groups: Italianate, Old English, Victorian, Naturalesque and Arts and Crafts. The following are examples of each type. Renishaw (20) see Illustrations 6 & 7, Prior Park (21) see Illustration 8, Lilford Hall (22), Blaise Castle (23), Frankleigh House (24) and Hardwick Hall (25) were all Italianate. Old English gardens were represented by Ightham Mote (26), Melcombe Bingham (27), see Illustration 9 and Brickwall (28), see Illustrations 10-12. Victorian gardens were best represented by the Rothschild gardens at Ascott (29), originally laid out by George Devey with John Veitch and Sons of Chelsea in 1874, see Illustration 13; and at Gunnersbury (30), another good example was Guy's Cliff, Warwick (31). Forde Abbey (32) was naturally planted, see Illustration 14; and Oakwood (33) experimental gardens of George F Wilson, were "a veritable home of flowers planted in the positions which they love best." (34), see Illustrations 15 & 16. Wilson was a pioneer of naturalistic planting, and Miss Jekyll had advised him on his alpine garden in 1881 (35).

Emergence of the Partnership Product.

Crooksbury, the partnership's first sizable commission was presented (36), and the house and gardens lauded, see Illustrations 17-19. However the greatest praise was

reserved for Munstead Wood (37), see Illustrations 20-24. Perhaps the most influential garden on the Edwardian years was introduced thus:

"No more suitable Christmas greeting could be offered than this beautiful collection of pictures of Munstead House, together with some account of it and its environment,..." (38)

The following quote describes "the principles on which Miss Jekyll acts" (39):

"The rule by which to produce such effects is simple in enunciation, difficult in the following. Group boldly with a thought of all the seasons and of all the colours; form many successive pictures in your mind, pictures which shall be harmonious in themselves and compatible one with another, and make them. That is the beginning and the end at the whole matter, but it is also where the imagination of the artist comes in. For the rest, the golden rules are two, which are easily obeyed - not to be a slave to tidiness, and not to attempt to grow plants which do not like your soil." (40)

Summary.

The "Gardens Old and New" evidence confirms that in 1900 many gardens were (as they are today) an amalgam of features and styles. Five broad styles were identifiable - High Victorian, Italianate, Old English, Natural, and the Arts and

Crafts partnership product. It is suggested that just as the literary debate about the direction of garden design was in a state of flux, so the garden itself was also experiencing a transitional period. Many gardens retained historical features, and the High Victorian bedding and carpet bedding systems were still popular. Nonetheless the presence of Munstead Wood and Crooksbury demonstrates that the Arts and Crafts vernacular garden had emerged.

CHAPTER 6.

Establishment of the Arts and Crafts

Vernacular County House Garden.

At the turn of the century the different ideas promulgated about garden-making all entered the Matrix of Innovation and competed against one another. In the years up to 1914 the establishment of the vernacular garden was helped by various commentators who recognised the benefits of this new product. In 1900 Miss Jekyll and E T Cook became co-editors of *The Garden, "An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Horticulture in all its Branches"*. Robinson had founded *The Garden* in 1872 but had sold his interests to Hudson in 1899. It was an up-market publication, printed on the same high quality glossy paper as *Country Life*, and described as a "sister paper". Nevertheless, the new ownership and editorship stuck to its origins:

"to promote the knowledge of the better ways of horticulture and to give all who would garden well in the temperate world, a clear knowledge of the beautiful plants and shrubs and trees and the best ways of using them." (1)

Dean S Reynolds Hole (1819-1904) wrote an "Introduction" for the new editors in which he sought to distinguish a garden - a place of peace and seclusion - from bedding-out. The latter type of:

"floriculture does not make a garden...when you see it with terraces and stairs...regard it as a picturesque combination of the architect's and florist's art, but please don't call it a garden." (2)

Time had tempered Hole's soul in a way it had not Robinson's. Hole realised that the natural garden, the love of flowers and their cultivation could co-exist happily with formality. Such thoughts of compromise were echoed by H Avery Tipping (1855-1933) in his description of his garden at Mathern Palace:

"I am not one of those to quarrel over nature *versus* formalism in the garden. The sympathetic garden-lover sees nothing to clash in the two principles. Each has its sphere, and the boundary line is not difficult to settle by those who want peace on earth.

The best gardening is perhaps to lovingly tend one of Nature's choicest spots; to remove what injures, and to heighten what improves its form, to vary and stimulate its flora, to retain the grace and feeling of the wild while adding the eclectic richness of the cultured." (3)

These contributors to *The Garden* in 1900 recognised that a compromise between the formal and informal was possible. In 1903 F W Burbidge (who also wrote for *The Garden* and *The Gardeners' Chronicle*), read "Modern Progress in Horticulture" before the Horticultural Club (4). Burbidge noted that gardening was

becoming increasingly popular within all social groups, and quantified certain "changes in fashion". "Out" were certain Victorian features: huge plant collections, elephantine exhibition plants, the pinetum, wire temples and rosaries. "Modifications" had occurred in: bedding out, sub-tropical gardening as a modification of bedding out, hybrid perpetual roses, and so-called florists flowers. More significantly "In" were: hardy wild gardening, flowering trees and shrubs, the bamboosery, the moraine bed/border and the rock/Alpine garden. Other features which had experienced a revival were: sundials, stone or lead urns, Water-lily pools or tanks and canals, the pergola or gazebo borrowed from Italy, clipped evergreen hedges and "corkscrew-twisted and poodle-clipped evergreens". Planting, it was suggested, should be for useful and beautiful selections, not curious collections. Thus by 1903 features which were to become synonymous with the Edwardian garden were beginning to become established. What is also of interest is that Burbidge did not confine the changes in fashion solely to large gardens. However it cannot be agreed that:

"The highest point to which any art or craft can rise is not altogether expressed by the highest and best results attained by any one gifted individual, or even by a small set of individuals, but rather by the highest average excellence attained by the whole community." (5)

The next eleven years saw "a marked development in the planning of English gardens, particularly those of moderate extent." (6). By 1914 most writers acknowledged that from the formal *versus* informal debate a new product had

established. The reviewer of Inigo Triggs' *Garden Craft in Europe* in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* made this point in 1914:

"notwithstanding the present-day efforts to re-introduce old-time formalism, the true characteristics of a beautiful English garden will always be the blending of the natural style with the adjunct of seductive sheltered enclosures, formal or otherwise, which in this climate are so essential to the enjoyment of a garden at all seasons and so necessary for the luxurious growth of plant life." (7)

In the same year Edward White echoed similar thoughts:

"The majority of large gardens in England can scarcely be described as either strictly formal or informal. The kind of garden recognised as distinctly English is perhaps expressed by a happy assimilation of all styles in a harmonious fashion." (8)

E T Cook (also writing in 1914) singled out Miss Jekyll as the leader who had encouraged the:

"beneficent departure from mere formalism that was, in many phases, almost repulsive in its cold, forbidding attributes...(and Munstead Wood had) had a strong influence in fashioning the modern garden." (9)

Therefore by the outbreak of war the partnership product was successfully established. It had been positively received by the media and widely disseminated. Within the country house owning sector their product was disseminated further by word of mouth and introductions, for example the commission for Le Bois des Moutiers (10). The product survived because it met a consumer demand, and was therefore selected in preference to others. In their 55 commissions in the pre-war years (11) the partnership used ingenuity in order to problem solve in a variety of different locations. The product was adopted by Skilled Imitators, for example George Dillistone who designed for the Robert Wallace Nursery (12); and it was adopted and adapted by amateurs, for example Lady Northbrook (see p.104). Thus the partnership product came to dominate the country house garden - it became a fashion.

Form and Character of the Vernacular Arts and Crafts Garden.

Periodical Review.

Central to the Arts and Crafts tenet was a reverence for nature combined with a belief in organic design based on traditional crafts. The architect Voysey expressed this in a lecture in 1909:

"Now, how does nature go to work? Everywhere we find her making the best possible use of immediate conditions, evolving beauty out of fitness, and wisdom out of regard for requirements,

materials and conditions all in exquisite harmony with established law." (13)

He was speaking of buildings, but since a further aim of the Movement was to bring together all the crafts, especially those associated with the home, it was a short step into the garden. This deserved equal attention, not in the Victorian way but with the new-found feeling for materials that embraced plants as well as brick and stone (14). A sacred principle was the use of local (native) materials, and this extended to the preference for old-fashioned hardy flowers, trees and shrubs (15).

Ottewill's description of Orchards has been used to describe the Lutyens/Jekyll innovation (see p.86). Bisgrove (1990) also acknowledged that more than anyone else Miss Jekyll provided inspiration for a new generation of gardeners (see p.87). Together with Lutyens she created a new English garden: inventively geometrical, using local materials in local ways, and filled with planting which was simultaneously disciplined and profuse. Sometimes it was inward looking and sheltered; sometimes it commanded fine views, sometimes it was largely geometrical, sometimes the geometry gave way to woodland rides or flower-strewn orchards. Always it consulted the genius of the place and the characters of its owners (16).

The product was disseminated by the media and the contemporary sources provide further evidence for the form and character of the product as it established and became adopted and adapted. By 1903 the journalistic shift in "Gardens Old and

New" towards the history, architecture and interior of the house resulted in a drop in garden coverage. Of the fifty properties visited, nineteen had neither description nor photographs of the garden, and in a further twelve it received only scant coverage. Despite this, there was mix of garden styles and associated features including examples of the Lutyens/Jekyll partnership's work at Fulbrook House (17), see Illustrations 25 & 26; and The Deanery Gardens (18); see Illustration 27.

By 1914 garden coverage had deteriorated still further. Visits had declined to thirty-five: just eight commented on the garden and only three in detail. Although no Lutyens/Jekyll partnership commissions were displayed, examples of product adoption and adaptation were found. Lady Northcliffe had recently remodelled Sutton Place, see Illustrations 28 & 29. The new features: a sunken garden within a walled garden, a wild garden with pools, streams, and dry stone walls planted with alpine, were integrated with existing features: the green alley, yew enclosure, and rose garden (19). However no mention was made of the planting schemes provided by Miss Jekyll in 1902 (20).

At Hallingbury Place a sunken T-shaped lily pool was part of the gardens constructed in 1910 by Messrs R Wallace to the design of Mrs Lockett Agnew. see Illustrations 30 & 31 (21):

"In the grass plat that surrounds the pool are simple flower beds, while paths of red bricks, laid on edge, situated immediately beneath

the dry wall which faces the footings of the yew hedge, surround the whole." (22)

Other "new" features described were a half-formal rose garden, a brick pergola, natural flowers in a woodland, tennis and croquet lawns, an ornamental pool surrounded by marginal plants, a wild garden, and a rock garden.

Brinsop Court (23), "recently restored by H Avery Tipping" had a moated garden replete with wooden pergola, stone flagged walks, and borders of herbaceous plants on the terrace the supporting dry stone wall of which was planted. Featured in "In The Garden" rather than "Gardens Old and New" the garden at West Stratton (24) had been designed by Lady Northbrook "some eight or nine years ago". Emphasis was placed on enclosure by clipped yew hedges, pathways of weathered York paving, the dry stone walls, the rose garden, the pergola, the rock garden, the summer-house, and the wild garden.

Country house gardens which exhibited the new form were also presented in other periodicals. *The Gardeners' Chronicle* which proclaimed itself "*The Times of Horticulture*" was the trade paper of the professional horticulturist, with many articles written by Head Gardeners. Garden visits were few, but Holly Hill, constructed in 1907 and visited in 1914 was described as an "Edwardian garden". This was the first time that a generic name had been given to the new garden style. Below the paved terrace with its seasonal beds were a tennis court, rosary, herbaceous border, rhododendron beds, rockery and Dutch garden (25). The latter

was shown in the Supplementary Illustration - a sunken pool with fountain surrounded by stone slabs and edged by beds with a pergola near by.

At Serlby Hall a large wooden pergola was juxtaposed to a formal pool. Enclosure within the garden was afforded by yew hedges, and the borders including an herbaceous border were planted with specific colour schemes. Natural features included a rockery and an area for semi-aquatics (26). Similarly at Lavington Park (27), the rockery, stream, pools and bogs contrasted with the formal flower gardens, tennis and croquet lawns. It was reported that more than 20 000 visitors passed through the gates of Bletchley Park (also visited by *The Garden*, see p.106) when open to the public on August Bank Holiday 1914 (28). This gives some indication of the popularity of gardens, or at least garden visiting.

The Garden, whose origins have been noted (see p.97) published weekly sections on "The Flower Garden", "Trees and Shrubs", "Woodland and Forest", "The Rose Garden", "Stove and Greenhouse" and "Indoor Gardening", "Fruits for the Garden" and "Gardening for the Week". It offered plant profiles, planting suggestions and advice on cultivation and culture; and although editorial policy favoured hardy ornamental plants it kept to its 1900 motto:

"to promote the knowledge of the better ways of horticulture and to give all who would garden well in the temperate world, a clear knowledge of the beautiful plants and shrubs and trees and the best ways of using them." (29)

In 1914 *The Garden* published six "Gardens of Today". The descriptions were brief and illustrations few, but the evidence revealed the Edwardian garden. Shendish had a bowling green, rosary, delphinium border, water and rock gardens (30). The rock garden and pool at Bletchley Park were admired:

"a sunken garden of formal outline...(and a) small Water Lily pool in an enclosed garden, surrounded by a paved walk and a wealth of alpine flowers planted amongst rocks..." (31)

Similarly, at Campsea Ashe recent additions had been the rock garden and: "a sunk formal garden with Lily pool in the centre (surrounded by) two broad terraces..." (32).

Gardening Illustrated for Town and Country was a second Robinson periodical, founded in 1889 and edited by him until 1918, which called itself "*A Weekly Journal for Amateurs and Gardeners*". Much was in the form of readers' suggestions and answers to questions. *Gardening Illustrated* was a vehicle through which Robinson disseminated his passion for naturalistic gardening to a wide audience. All requests for garden design advice were referred to the relevant chapters of *The English Flower Garden*. The approach towards plant use and garden features were similar to those of *The Garden* but the language used, typically for Robinson, was aggressive. A 1900 example of this was "The Design of Gardens", a thinly disguised attack on F I Thomas' series "Of Garden Making" published in *Country Life* (see p.79):

"There is a curious rigmarole now running in a weekly paper about the design of gardens, written without knowledge of the subject and without any aesthetic or reasoning force; the whole theme of the writer to show that there is only *one* way of laying out a garden, and that is his own." (33)

The assault continued in "A Wiltshire Garden" (34) in which Thomas was named. It is interesting to note that whilst Robinson launched an attack against the idea that there was only one way to layout a garden, he was equally guilty of the same charge. Robinson indirectly assailed Mawson in his criticism of an article which had appeared in *The Builder* of August 1900. The author suggested that thanks to Mawson's book "The landscape gardener has become obsolete." Robinson's counter claim, that if the illustration (of a formal garden) "...represents what the architect is going to do for us, Heaven save the country from his disfigurements." (35). Both seem to have conveniently forgotten that Mawson was not an architect. Robinson continued with his unequivocal views in 1914 with an acid review of Inigo Triggs's *Garden Craft in Europe* in "An Architect Astray in Gardens" (36).

Another influence on the development of the Edwardian garden was the introduction of large numbers of new plants from the Far East. One of the features of the Arts and Crafts garden was to grow hardy species (see p.102). Many of the new introductions were not only hardy, but also exciting. The new garden style enabled the new plants to be used in ways which best displayed their form. This was corroborated by the well-known Nurseryman R W Wallace (who employed

George Dillistone) in his 1914 lecture "Some Aspects of Modern Gardening" (37):

"The great and absorbing interest in all that appertains to the garden is mainly concerned - almost entirely concerned - with the planting, growth, and flowering of hardy plants, trees and shrubs," (38)

Wallace observed that the large numbers of new plants arriving from abroad and their "improvement" by hybridisers had increased the range of hardy plants dramatically. However he recognised that planting had moved away from plant-collection approach, towards the artistic display of plant material and the effects which could be achieved by careful selection and arrangement (comments which echo Burbidge's 1903 observations, see p.99). According to Wallace, division of the garden into compartments was a direct result of the desire to grow many different types of plant. He named: "the Rose garden, the rock garden, the wild garden, the woodland garden, the Heath garden, etc." (39). Within such compartments Wallace recommended the creation of a space best designed to display the beauty of the plant (a concept with its origins in Loudon's *Gardenesque*). Nevertheless a large area would have been required to indulge in all the activities he suggested. No provision or comment was made for those who did not own woodland or meadow, nor had a stream to divert. Unfortunately it was not recorded to whom the paper was given. Many of the new introductions were described with excitement in the *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* (40). The *Journal* published thrice annually was received by Fellows of the Royal Horticultural Society. Besides Reports on Society business, learned papers tackled

the scientific aspects of horticulture. The articles concerned with ornamental horticulture focused on hardy species/plant group profiles. Contributors included Rev. Prof. George Henslow, Miss Jekyll, Reginald Farrer, W J Bean, and several Nurserymen including George Bunyard, Harry J Veitch, and William Cutbush. There was the very occasional piece on garden-making, such as those by Burbidge and White.

The photographs and descriptions of gardens revealed the character of the vernacular garden, but it was the garden-making articles which revealed the form or contents typical of this style. Analogous with Wallace's comments both *Gardening Illustrated* and *The Garden* approached garden features as locations for plant growth. In particular, the readers were encouraged to rediscover hardy plants, to use them in new ways and in the process to incorporate these "new" features into the garden. The planting locations which received coverage were those features favoured by the Arts and Crafts garden, and which fitted with Robinson's views on natural gardening. The following examples demonstrate the range and type of features recommended and promoted between 1900 and 1914. The garden visits published in 1900 by *Gardening Illustrated*, for example: "A Lawn Garden in Gloucester" (41) and "A Small Flower Garden, Farnham Castle" (42), were used to preach the Robinson sermon for the naturalistic use of hardy plants. The brief description of The Willows mentioned wild garden, riverside garden, bog garden, rock garden, and flower border (43). The introduction of wild or naturalised areas into the garden was a popular theme. *The Garden* encouraged "Nature in the Garden" (44), and *Gardening Illustrated* gave advice on "A Garden

of Natural Plants" (45). Another favourite subject was water, *The Garden* printed "Water Gardens" (46), and from Miss Jekyll came "Riverside Gardening" (47). Water was also associated with rock gardens, and suggestions were made in "Rock and Pool Gardens of Japan and England" (48). The rock garden itself received attention in "Alpine Gardening" (49), and "Rock Gardening for Small Gardens" (50). Another use of stone was to make the dry stone wall gardens described in "A Wall Garden" (51).

The use of hardy plants was strongly recommended. W D Chinnery of Forde Abbey put forward a plea in *Gardening Illustrated* for reform in the use of hardy shrubs (52); whilst Miss Jekyll, in an editorial for *The Garden*, made suggestions for "The Hardy Winter Garden" (53). Borders were another integral feature where hardy plants could be displayed. *Gardening Illustrated* discussed the differing types of "Mixed Borders" (54), whilst Miss Jekyll wrote on the "Value of Good Grouping" describing the flower border at Munstead Wood in autumn (55). Her editorials for *The Garden* also suggested ideas for the "Arrangement of the Mixed Flower Border" (56), and avoiding the problem of wrong plant, wrong place (57 & 58). Borders continued to be trumpeted in 1903. *Gardening Illustrated* noted the popularity of hardy flower borders along the paths in the kitchen garden in "Kitchen Garden Walks" (59). The "Herbaceous Borders" (60) reminded the reader how long hardy perennials had been banned from the garden, and thanks to *The English Flower Garden* they had "resumed their rightful position". The hardy flower border received further commendation in "The Flower Border in Summer" (61) and "The Herbaceous Border in September" (62). The Robinsonian idea of

herbaceous specimens set as specimens in cut grass was also promoted (63).

In the same year, 1903, *The Garden* described naturalistic "Woodland Planting" (64). Two garden structures were commended: summerhouses (65) and the pergola (66 & 67). The rapid establishment of two features was demonstrated by the lengthy series by F W Mayer in *The Garden*: "Rock Garden Making" (68) and "Wall Garden Making" (69). The series in turn prompted the publication of *Rock and Water Gardens* (1910) by the same author and published by Country Life. Water was celebrated by *Gardening Illustrated* for its mirror-like qualities, and the opportunity to grow marginals and aquatics in a natural manner (70). *The Garden* offered advice on "Bog Gardening" (71 & 72), as well as contributions from Miss Jekyll which included "Colour in the Spring Garden", with examples drawn from Munstead Wood (73).

By 1914 *Gardening Illustrated* ran a weekly section entitled "Rock, Alpine, Bog, Fern and Water Garden", and *The Garden* continued to help with how-to-make-and-plant the bog garden, and the herbaceous border (74). Waterside gardening was praised as "Nature Gardening" (75). In *Gardening Illustrated* Miss Jekyll wrote on planting annuals in the rockery, and on mining works spoil heaps (76). Wall gardens were again described in *The Garden* as an excellent way of naturally displaying plants (77) with planting suggestions for summer and winter show (78). Rose gardens were still very popular, most commonly in a formal enclosure. For example straight, stone-edged beds set on a flat flagged area with a central sundial or curved geometric beds set in grass (79).

However *The Garden* was not entirely averse to other types of gardening. It adopted a conciliatory approach to the sympathetic use of tender plants, rather than "the commingle of crude colours entirely antagonistic and intolerably dull in their perpetual reiteration" (80), even to the extent that "Summer Gardening" in 1903 promoted bedding (81), and suggestions for spring bedding in geometric beds were offered in 1914 (82).

Individual choice ensured that not everyone wanted the new garden form. Pre-war gardens which retained High Victorian features were visited by *The Garden* and *The Gardeners' Chronicle*. At Lockinge, Box-edged geometric beds remained (83); and at Bletchley (despite the new additions) "Bedding designs were carried out on an extensive scale," (84). Penrhyn Castle had geometrically-arranged, Box-edged beds filled with bedding plants, set in gravel about a sundial (85).

In summary, the years leading up to the war *The Garden*, *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, and *Gardening Illustrated* disseminated advice about the features which were staples of the vernacular garden form. In doing so they all moved away from the High Victorian garden. The naturalistic ideas of Robinson were in sympathy with this new product, and his sometimes imperious commands that only naturalistic gardening be used did not detract from the dissemination, establishment and survival of the new garden form. However it must be noted that the same level of dissemination or publicity accorded to the Arts and Crafts garden was not bestowed on other garden forms promoted by Popularisers, for example Blomfield's English Renaissance, Sedding's Old English, or Sitwell's Italian. None of these

styles experienced high levels of adoption and adaptation. They established, but were out-competed by the Arts and Crafts.

Monograph Review.

An examination of two, 3-volume sets of monographs produced between 1900 and 1911 demonstrates that a mix of gardens styles existed before the war. The *Country Life* articles "Gardens Old and New" were used as the basis the series bearing the same name (86), each of which included an Introduction. In the first two volumes Cook and Leyland respectively promoted the Old English form of garden, whilst in the third Tipping discussed garden history from Mediaeval times up until the beginnings of the English Landscape Garden (the hope was expressed that the latter would be explained in a fourth volume, which never appeared). The selected gardens included work by the Lutyens/Jekyll partnership. Nevertheless the Old English style had a slight predominance in Volumes I and II, but this may have been a result of editorial bias. For example Leyland inserted a disclaimer that most of the pictures were of formal gardens because "in various developments it (formality) largely prevails." (87). The second series was published by *The Studio* as three Special Spring Editions edited by Charles Holme. *In the Southern and Western Counties* (1907), *In the Midland and Eastern Counties* (1908), and *In the Northern Counties* (1911) collectively made up *The Gardens of England* (88). Although similar in format, *The Studio* lacked the photographic quality of *Country Life*. The introductory topics were: "The History of Gardening and the Principles of Garden Making" (1907), "The Use of Gardens" (1908), and "Types of Gardens"

(1911). Of the 134 gardens displayed in *Gardens Old and New* 47 appeared in *Gardens of England*. The first two volumes focused on formal gardens of Old English, Italianate, and High Victorian styles. There may have been editorial bias in the selection as Holme observed that: the garden had benefited "from the entry of the architect into the ranks of the garden designers." (89). The third volume was almost exclusively an advertisement for Mawson. The majority of pictures depicted his work, and the Introduction thanked him for all his help. It is interesting to note that the Lutyens/Jekyll partnership work was not included. However a curious resemblance existed between the Lutyens/Jekyll commission at Woodside, displayed in *Country Life* in 1901, and Wootton Wawen Hall which had a copy of a real Italian garden built in "the last two or three years" (90 & 91).

Analysis of the Edwardian Country House Garden.

At the turn of the century, change in society was echoed in the garden-making social environment, and garden design experienced a period of upheaval. The new product from the Lutyens/Jekyll partnership arrived and found the new social environment to be conducive. To follow the product through the Matrix of Innovation: it emerged, and began to establish. During this stage of it was disseminated and received positive publicity from the media. In particular it was championed (and patronised) by Hudson at *Country Life*. Miss Jekyll also published her innovative views on garden-making, and her monographs were numerous and popular.

Selection of the product occurred, and to follow the "innovator-decision process" of Rogers and Shoemaker (see p.56): members of the wealthy class had Knowledge of the product from the media or by personal recommendations and/or introductions. Persuasion in the form of a favourable response may have been a personal liking of the product, a desire for change away from the High Victorian, or a result of peer pressure. The Decision to adopt the product was made, and Confirmation was forthcoming because the consumer appreciated either the art form, or the realisation that others were doing the same thing.

Continued dissemination and product selection resulted in its dominance. Its rise to fashion status was signified by an identifiable style or presence in the country house garden. As a new fashion emerged, another, the High Victorian with its geometric beds cut into grass or set in gravel, extensive use of bedding plants in clashing colour combinations, carpet beds, and architectural embellishment, fell from favour.

It was important that country house garden was designed for beauty and ornament. Not only was it to be, in Miss Jekyll's words a place with a "character of peace and beauty, and power of giving happiness." (92); it also had to fulfil a role in society as a background for elegant living. The form and character of the Arts and Crafts vernacular garden fulfilled these needs. Formality was juxtaposed with the house, the garden framework an extension of the house's architecture. The garden layout depended upon geometry with division and enclosure provided by wall or clipped yew hedge; throughout, architectural adornment and ornament were

tastefully used. The formal setting for the house incorporated a variety of features such as terrace and steps to a lawn, herbaceous border, rose garden and dry stone walling. Water was used formally in pool, rill and tank; and utility was provided in the form of sward, a croquet or tennis lawn. Separate garden compartments, connected by paths or perhaps a pergola were used to show specific planting displays or features. Hardy flowering plants were appreciated and carefully arranged to take into consideration seasonality, colour, form and scent. Such use within the flower garden contrasted with naturalisation in the wild areas of the garden. Beyond the formality, nature was tempered and controlled. Rock, alpine, and scree gardens, woodland gardens, and bog gardens all displayed hardy plants in habitats which were as natural as possible. Here water was used informally in pool and stream, and in association with rock and/or bog garden.

To reiterate Bisgrove, Miss Jekyll more than anyone else provided inspiration for a new generation of gardeners and together with Lutyens she created this new garden form. However it must not be forgotten that the Edwardian country house garden had other forms. These gardens drew on variety of sources - Italy and other countries abroad, the Beaux Arts and Romanticism of old England. Perhaps the diversity was best illustrated in *Gardens for Small Country Houses* by Miss Jekyll and Lawrence Weaver (93). Filled with high quality photographs by Charles Latham (Hudson's photographer at *Country Life*) all the leading architects had a mention - Sir Reginald Blomfield, Detmar Blow, Walter Cave, L Rome Guthrie, Lethabie, Robert Lorimer, C E Mallows, Thomas Mawson, Harold Peto, Baillie-Scott, Barry Unsworth, Triggs and Voysey - and over and over again Lutyens.

Munstead Wood, Deanery Gardens and Millmead each received a chapter (94). These gardens reached the summit of this new Englishness, despite their early dates. Millmead more than the others displays the Lutyens/Jekyll perfection. Ironically it is a small garden, of approximately half an acre. The rectangular plot has the perfect proportions of terracing and planting framing a central vista. Different notes are struck on the different levels, but throughout is the perfect balance of colour, texture, form, scent and association (95).

The partnership creations embody the Edwardian garden, as Brown so aptly put it - "Gardens of a Golden Afternoon". But the sun set behind the clouds of war, never to shine so brightly again. Sadly perhaps, the country house and garden with its high labour requirements, large number of inexpensive servants, and dependence on low fuel costs and taxes was ill-suited to adapt to the enormous social and economic changes wrought by the first World war.

CHAPTER 7.

Evolution of the Edwardian Suburban Garden.

Suburban Evolution.

The aims of this Chapter are threefold. First, to describe briefly the evolution of the suburb from its early expression in the Industrial Revolution through to the early-twentieth century. Second, to determine the pre-war suburban garden character and form. Third, to explain the suburban garden in terms of the Matrix of Innovation.

The middle class began to expand during the Industrial Revolution, and increased throughout the nineteenth century until, by 1841 one sixth of the population was classified in this band. The impetus behind the rapid development of the nineteenth century suburbs was to provide appropriate housing for these new members of the middle classes (1).

The type of housing which satisfied their needs was of an extensive size to accommodate a large family, live-in servants, maybe a lodger (lower middle class) and elderly relatives or maiden aunts/sisters. The basic design was the Georgian terrace with an ornamental exterior in the Italianate or Gothic Revival style, that is to say, an Urban style. Mid-Victorian suburban life in no way was seen as an escape into the countryside, the pioneers of this new territory saw themselves as essentially urban dwellers. After 1840 speculator-built housing also began to cater

for the psychological desires of the middle classes - to emulate their social superiors and to reflect their aspirations (2). Professor John Burnett in *A Social History of Housing* (1980) explained how important the house was to these aspirations:

"The home then had to fulfil these many functions: to comfort and purify, to give relief and privacy from the cares of the world, to rear its members in an appropriate set of Christian values, and above all, to proclaim by its ordered arrangement, polite behaviour, cleanliness, tidiness, and distinctive taste that its members belonged to a class of substance, culture and respectability. The house itself was a visible expression of these values." (3)

The middle class benefited greatly from industrialisation which was inescapably linked with urbanisation. However, in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, as cities became increasingly regarded as undesirable places to live in, the higher income earners began the move to the periphery of the conurbations. The breadwinner commuted to work but the family avoided the health risks and political unrest associated with the town (4). At the same time changes also took place at a social and cultural level. There was a reaction against the extravagance and opulence of design characterised by the High Victorian society. In 1869 Matthew Arnold introduced the Sweetness and Light Movement: "Sweetness" was an appreciation of beauty and art; "Light" a thirst for knowledge, and an understanding of the value of education. These ideals had a large impact on the middle class, and gave

them something new to aspire to. These new aspirations and the interest in art sparked off the Aesthetic Movement. Fashion now dictated that aesthetic values must be understood and displayed along side status and social position. The house had to be "artistic". However when the ideals had been taken to an extreme the Movement became an object of ridicule (5). The Arts and Crafts Movement with its roots in the same philosophy of art and beauty led to a style of interior design which was lighter, brighter, more functional and encouraged a more rational use of space. (The ethos eventually spread to Europe where it spawned the Art Nouveau and helped shape the beginnings of the Modern Movement.) This Movement had a profound effect on British domestic design and gave the middle classes instruction in "Artistic" taste (6).

The expression of the suburb associated with these middle class changes in values was the low density housing areas on the periphery of the city, and therefore closely associated with the countryside. The suburb was planned with gardens and plants on a scale large enough to hold their own with buildings. Nature was a matrix into which individually designed and developed houses were slotted (7). In such a location the suburb had the power to reconcile the built environment with the naturalistic philosophy of the middle classes. It was given further momentum and rationale by the Romantic Movement which extolled the virtues of the countryside and the countryman in sharp contrast with the vice of the city dweller. Opportunities existed for self-development, and the householder's esteem was boosted by association with the landed gentry. As a result there was a change in attitude towards rural Britain. The "countryside" as it became known was viewed

as a place of leisure and recreation rather than the domain of the agricultural industry and its workers. At the same time access improved to rural areas and the renovated country cottage became popular as a second home (8).

The revolution in house design which accompanied the Domestic Revival of the late-Victorian period has been examined (see p.75). This had a dramatic visual impact on suburbia. R. Norman Shaw worked towards the emancipation of architecture and did most to popularise the use of vernacular styles and ultimately changed the face of suburbia through the so-called Queen Anne style which he developed in the 1870s (9).

The Queen Anne style was a mixture of vernacular, builder's classicism of the seventeenth century town house, Dutch gables and Elizabethan-inspired windows; its conception was in 1875 at Bedford Park near Chiswick. The style was taken up by suburbanites thirsting for Sweetness and Light. Nevertheless by 1900 the fussy detailing of the Queen Anne had been more or less abandoned by the speculative builder in favour of the simpler Arts and Crafts ideals. Thus in the early years of this century before the war suburban taste in architecture was an amalgam of period styles - preferring a simplistic image of a cosy cottage furnished with "olde worlde" furniture (10).

At the same time developments in communication and transport allowed the gradual widening of the economic base of suburbia. Suburban expansion of the late-nineteenth century largely consisted of rented rather than owner-occupied property.

The desire of many small time investors to whom renting-out a house was seen as a safe investment also brought pressures to widen the market for suburban living. To achieve this suburban housing had to be made cheaper - by increasing densities, reducing house and garden size, and by linking dwellings in economical combinations - the semi-detached pairs. For the cheapest type of suburb which came in to being in the 1880s and 1890s the small terraced house was imported from the inner city (11).

In summary, the suburb had become an established feature of the urban landscape by 1900. Changes in the upper echelons of society affected the middle classes and created a social environment in which a new style of suburban housing evolved - an adaption of the vernacular Arts and Crafts of Voysey and others. The imagery of vernacular architecture reflected the aspirations of the suburban dweller to emulate the country living upper classes intertwining with the middle class values of the Sweetness and Light and Romantic movements.

The Edwardian Suburban Owner-Occupier Garden.

Middle class suburbia was speculator-built, the house design a diluted form of the Arts and Crafts vernacular. However none of the influential architects discussed (see pp.75-78) was found to have designed owner-occupier suburban housing. Correspondingly none of the professional garden designers named (see pp.78-87) was found to have practised in the suburbs. The new dweller simply moved in and had to deal with the garden as best he could.

The history of the Edwardian suburban garden has not been written. Therefore this study was based on reviews of contemporary horticultural sources which targeted the Secondary Reader Group (see p.51). Adrian Bloom observed in interview that he is trying to educate and interest: "the 60% of gardeners who need leading (20% are keen, 20% never will be) using books and the media" (12). Although the percentages may have been different, a parallel may be drawn between Bloom's target audience and many pre-war suburban gardeners - those amateurs who wished to garden but needed direction and leading.

Periodical Review.

The Gardener (incorporating Cottage Gardener) was edited by H H Thomas and poorly printed on thin paper. It targeted the amateur suburban market as demonstrated by its 1914 subtitle "*A Practical Journal for all Interested in Gardening*". The word "practical" most aptly described the "what-to-do, when-to-do-it, and how-to-do-it" journalistic style of the pre-war years. The contents were primarily enquiries and advice from readers. Although a bias towards ornamental horticulture was discernable, the subject base was broad. The articles which described constructing garden features strengthen the argument that the readers did their own gardening. However *The Gardener* was similar to the periodicals which catered for the country house garden in three ways: first it carried few garden-making suggestions and did not tackle garden design theory; second emphasised garden features were locations in which to cultivate a range of ornamental plants; and third and perhaps most significantly, the popularisation of the new product

followed the same pattern. It is suggested that the socio-economic changes identified in Chapter 4 also had and affect the middle class and the suburban garden-making social environment. Furthermore the country idyll was an aspiration and source of inspiration to the middle class. It is suggested that in order to meet consumer demand *The Gardener* adopted, adapted, and disseminated the innovative partnership product.

This was confirmed by the garden-making recommendations made in 1900. The features were the same as seen in *The Garden*, *Gardening Illustrated*, and *The Gardeners' Chronicle*: a mixture of the High Victorian and the "new". For example, help with the use of a pergola (13), "Rockerries - How to Make and Plant Them" (14), "Wall Gardens" (15) and "An Artistic Rose Garden" (16) rubbed shoulders with "Rustic Trellised Rosary Walk" (17) and suggestions for bedding schemes (18).

By 1903 there had been little change. The series "Pictorial Practices" (19) and "How to Improve the Garden" (20) continued to helped the reader adapt the new product. For example "Pictorial Practices" included: "A Ground Plan for a Water Lily Tank and Surrounds" and "Arches for Roses". Suggestions on "How to Improve the Garden" included: "By the Use of Trellises", "By Walks amongst Special Flowers", "By Summerhouses", and "By the Use of Rocks". Two further series, "Visits to Pretty Gardens" (21), see Illustrations 32-35, and "Trials and Troubles" (22), see Illustrations 36-39, demonstrated the mix found in the early-twentieth century suburban garden. "Visits to Pretty Gardens" displayed gardens

in the High Victorian style: axially symmetrical and dotted with geometric beds. In contrast "Trials and Troubles" depicted gardens more informally laid out. An informal approach was also advocated in "Laying Out a Small Garden". However all recommendations laid heavy emphasis on the planting rather than the layout of the garden features:

"The characteristic speciality in what we should term a "pretty" garden is the absence of all stiffness and formality. A straight line, is, or should be unknown." (23)

By 1914 the adapted vernacular garden had become dominant in the suburban, as well as the country house garden. For example "Alterations in the Garden" advised that the amateur designer use: the rosary, the rock garden, the pergola and arch, flowering and evergreen shrubs, and lawn (24).

Articles recommended individual features, and one which received particular attention was the rock garden. For example four articles in 1914 discussed its construction and various attributes (25). It was also associated with a pool (26) and a wall garden (27). Other suggestions were "Water and Bog Gardens" (28), wall gardens (29), a simple formal sunken rose garden (30), and the hardy flower (herbaceous) border, including a discussion of colour theory (31). Nonetheless, bedding schemes remained popular and frequent advice for their layout was given. The majority of plans were geometrically-shaped and -arranged beds filled with massed seasonal plantings (32). A possible explanation is that bedding is effective

in providing seasonal variation in a small garden, and on such a scale need not be prohibitively expensive.

As well as the new vernacular form of garden, another rural influence was the traditional "cottage garden", and advice was offered throughout the period. For example in 1900, "How to Make House Fronts Pretty" (33). In 1903 Hawthorn advised the new villa owner against glasshouse bedding out in favour of the "...old-fashioned country garden" style of massing plants of differing heights (34); and in 1914 "A Suburban Garden Made Beautiful" was:

"oblong, as are all back gardens, 50 feet wide, east to west, with a five foot wall to the south and east, and a fence to the north where the garden joins the neighbour's garden. A flagged area outside the back door (a sort of patio) leads to a central straight gravel path with two (stone edged) wide borders opposite each other in the manner of an old-fashioned cottage garden, one backed by a wall, the other by a fence." (35)

The evidence from *The Gardener* suggests that the suburban garden evolved alongside the country house garden. The suburban middle classes wished to emulate the rural idyll to which they aspired. *The Gardener* recognised this and disseminated appropriate images. The product which found a conducive social environment was the vernacular Arts and Crafts. The result of dissemination to a large Secondary Reader Group was Amateur Adoption and Adaption. Nevertheless one problem

with pre-war suburban gardens is that little on-the-ground evidence was recorded or has survived. Therefore to substantiate the conclusions drawn from the periodical evidence, a study was made of monographs.

Monograph Review.

Monographs which targeted the amateur market were as diverse in their subject matter as they were numerous. For a comprehensive account of the topics and titles published it is recommended reference is made to the *Bibliographical Index: Gardens and Landscape Architecture Volumes I and II* (36).

In 1902 W S Rogers published a pamphlet *Villa Gardens* in which he wrote that:

"...the problem is how to obtain an artistic effect in a natural manner. This is not to be done by reproducing the features of larger gardens, but rather by the application of principles specially suited to the case." (37)

Rogers presented a comprehensible and comprehensive account of the garden design theory and garden feature construction. Pre-dating Thomas by five years he maintained the four primary garden features were: beds (but not in the lawn), walks (which led somewhere), grass, and aspect. Secondary features included the summerhouse, trellis-work, arch, seat, naturalistic rockery, and sundial. Thus as early as 1902 authors had adopted aspects of the Lutyens/Jekyll product as being

appropriate for use in the suburban garden. However Rogers went further and proposed a methodology for the design of the small garden. This system, based on the discreet use of the straight line, he called the "Rectilinear Treatment". Rogers recommended the use of arranged formality within the rectangular garden plot, see Illustrations 40-42. This raises the question, "was Rogers an innovator?" An innovator is an individual who gives form to a new idea. At first glance it would appear that the Rectilinear Treatment was a new product and therefore Rogers was a True Innovator. However this is not the case. The use of geometry and compartmentalisation within a garden was extensively used by the partnership, and the features proposed to fill the formally arranged back garden were also part of their product. Instead Rogers is an example of a Skilled Imitator. He took someone else's innovative product and used it to problem solve in a different situation. To his credit Rogers also tried to be a Populariser by dissemination the product, unfortunately he was almost alone in providing good, practical design advice for the suburban gardener.

In 1910 Rogers published the larger *Garden Planning*. With its "...principles based upon Art in its broadest sense." (38). He reiterated much of his earlier work, and in the process adopted another innovation, Miss Jekyll's concept of painting with plants. The reader was informed that successful culture of plants was not enough, and in order to make a good garden it was necessary to create a garden picture. Again Rogers gave example of his treatment, see Illustrations 43-45.

Unfortunately for the suburban gardener Rogers was the exception to the rule.

Many of the monographs purporting to aid the garden-maker were neither so detailed nor so practical. Of the authors who wrote for the "beginner", H H Thomas was very prolific. Like *The Gardener* (of which he was editor) his monographs assisted with many aspects of horticulture. The similarities went further. In *Gardening in Town and Suburb* (1907) Thomas asserted that the garden was a place in which to cultivate flowers (39), and the twenty chapters scrutinised different plant types. Another parallel with *The Gardener* was that Thomas only briefly addressed the issue of garden design. In *Gardening in Town and Suburb* he offered a brief commentary on aspect and shelter, borders, walks, and flower beds - the same primary features that Rogers had discussed in greater five years previously. Thomas' recommendations for secondary features also echoed Rogers: rustic wood work including arches, seats and treillage, and the sundial.

Noting that many people were now gardening, and the majority had to be content with small gardens, Thomas aimed *Little Gardens and How to Make the Most of Them* (1908) at: "giving concise and practical counsel on laying out a small garden and generally turning it to the best advantage." (40). This time adopting one of Miss Jekyll's innovations, Thomas claimed that "making a garden may be likened to painting a picture" (41). Eight of the ten chapters concerned the paints - different types of flowers, but little guidance was offered on how to use the paints in order to create the garden picture. The selection of plans for rectangular garden plots had parallels with those published by *The Gardener*, see Illustrations 46-48.

In 1910 Thomas edited *Garden Planning and Planting* and wrote *The Ideal Garden*. *Garden Planning and Planting* (42) "published for the direction of the uninitiated" repeated his call for individuality in garden design. But again he provided little practical help in garden design beyond a list of features and a few garden plans, see Illustrations 49-51. However by 1910 (the same year as Rogers' *Garden Planning*) Thomas expanded his adoption and adaption of the partnership product to include: paved garden, wall garden, rose garden, Dutch garden, shrubbery and rockery borders. *The Ideal Garden* (43) offered various plans for various garden shapes and sizes - suburban, square and narrow, half- and quarter-acre. As well as a chapter on planting for colour arrangement, the features discussed were of vernacular origin. In *The Garden at Home* Thomas acknowledged his change in stance:

"I have endeavoured to raise a finger-post here and there on the commonplace way, pointing in such a direction as I thought flower-magic lay. This is chiefly found, I think, where the old and the new commingle,..." (44)

In 1909 Wright published *Beautiful Gardens*, a book on "Modern Artistic Flower Gardening" (45). According to Wright, the garden became ideal only when it "conforms to the means and capacity of the proprietors" (46). Wright's methodology, like Thomas', had a strong resemblance to Rogers': walks, lawns, and flower beds provided the primary framework into which could be fitted the secondary features such as herbaceous border, rock garden, flower beds, water

gardens, pergola, wild or and wall garden. Unfortunately Wright did not inform the reader how to achieve this idyll, but the contents page provides a list of typical features, see Illustration 52. Purely an amateur guide to the art of gardening, not garden-making, *Twentieth Century Gardening* (47) offered further evidence for the type of garden features advocated for the small garden through the titles for the plant lists: rock, alpine, and scree gardens, the herbaceous border, wall and water gardens, the lawn etc.

The keen amateur with a small garden could have read Popularisers and authors who wrote for large garden owners. As well as those already discussed, two further monographs could have aided the enthusiastic suburban gardener. Madaline Agar's *Garden Design in Theory and Practice* (48) was a comprehensive and intelligible technical manual with a degree of detail appropriate to a professional text. Garden history, the considerations when creating a new house and garden, and specifications were offered. The recommended features: water garden, rose garden, rock and wall gardens, wild garden, iris and other specialised gardens: all as familiar to the suburban gardener as to the estate owner. Thonger's *The Book of Garden Design* (49) targeted the novice with a large garden, and aimed to promote individuality. Like Agar, design theory and site considerations were comprehensively addressed; and the features suggested based on the new vernacular product.

One final point needs addressing, the status of the authors who catered for the suburban market. None were True Innovators disseminating a new message. It is

further argued that they were not Popularisers in the defined sense of the word, for the passion to proselytise a particular message was not present in the writings, furthermore all disseminated the same product. It is argued therefore that they were Opportunists who saw a market opportunity and exploited it.

Summary.

Contemporary periodical and monographs evidence revealed that as early as 1900 the media had adapted and adopted the Arts and Crafts partnership product and was disseminating features of the vernacular garden to the amateur gardener. This was backed up by the disproved hypothesis of a Hierarchy of Dissemination which found keywords in all the periodicals as early as 1900 (see Appendix II). It could be argued that the resultant new suburban garden form was an example of innovation: a new product emerged, found the social environment conducive, and in the next fourteen years evolved to a state of dominance. However this is not an example of parallel evolution. Rather the "new" suburban garden was an aspect of the evolution of the partnership product. It experienced Amateur Adoption and Adaptation which ensured its dominance and ensuing elevation to fashion status. By 1914 the vernacular garden had experienced mass adoption and adaptation and was a new British garden fashion.

SECTION III.
THE INTER-WAR GARDEN.

CHAPTER 8.

Historical Introduction to the Inter-War Years.

Three-quarters-of-a-million men from Great Britain were killed during the first World war. A cynical consolation was that the slaughter was less than the migration of able-bodied young men in the years leading up to the war which ran at approximately 300 000 *per annum*. Nevertheless the loss of talent was great as the rolls of honour in almost every school testify (1).

Britain entered the war as one of the most prosperous countries in the world, a hub of international trade and finance, a leading supplier of coal, textiles, ships, iron, steel and cotton. It left it a debtor nation due to the £11 325 million cost of the war effort. The immediate post-war speculator boom in the staple industries ended in the winter of 1920-1921. This was caused by the over production of primary products: a problem which was to dog the inter-war years, together with the lack of diversity within British industry. There was a worldwide glut of staple pre-war British products: shipping, coal and cotton. Exports fell almost to zero as former markets turned towards home production. Unemployment rose and there was wide scale dissatisfaction with the Government which jettisoned its economic responsibilities one by one, housing policy however, escaped (2).

Reconstruction, restoration and recovery were the three "Rs" of the twenties (3). 1922 was the first orderly year Britain had known since the war. Industrial strife diminished markedly and a new stability set in. This was to set the pattern for most of the inter-war years. However it took until 1924 before industrial production reached pre-war levels, then real wages for those in employment were 11% above the pre-war level. New industries saw the greatest growth: the electricity supply industry, motor car manufacture, the chemical industry, (ICI was formed in 1926). Perhaps the most dramatic rise was seen in the construction industry (4). The middle classes set the standard for the community: they were its conscience and provided its routine work. A rich man paid 8% of his income in tax before the war, 33% of it after (5). The table below shows the percentage of different incomes taken by taxation:

		1913-14	1918-19
Earned	£100	6.0	13.8
	£150	5.8	13.1
	£10 000	8.1	42.6
Unearned	£10 000	15.1	50.3

Super Tax (which became Surtax in 1929) and Death Duties (introduced at 40% on estates over £2 million in 1919) remained at punitive levels. The wealthy, once proud to be the idle rich, were now ashamed of it (6).

The mammoth of domestic architecture, the country house, did survive the war but in a much weakened form. Besides crippling taxes, servants were not so readily available and fuel prices increased. Many country houses were sold or fell into decay. The estates near towns were sold to speculative housing developers. Lutyens built only three country houses after the war, Robert Lorimer, Detmar Blow and Sir Reginald Blomfield, none (7).

As the Twenties progressed materialistic changes began to bring about a greater equality between the classes. Concern for the conditions of "the masses" became a dominant theme for domestic politics. The state now provided some security against sickness, unemployment, and old age. It fussed over housing, education, and health (8). As A J P Taylor put it, between 1924 to 1929:

"Englishmen drew closer together; class conflicts were diminished; the curves of production, wages, and standard of living which had previously oscillated widely, now moved soberly upwards." (9)

The 1920s saw highly significant scientific changes and increased knowledge. Rutherford foresaw the splitting of the atom; Einstein's theories shattered Newtonian principles; and Freud, in a similar way, shook the rational frame of mens' minds (10). The population began to have new ideas with regard to nature, man and the universe. Many old beliefs were gone, and for some it was a period of disintegration (11). Religious faith was lost first, followed by faith in reason. Psychologists were destroying reason as a guide to conduct. Physicists were

destroying certainty in the order of the universe. Movements against traditional patterns were found in art, literature, music and society. The mood of society was looking forwards (12). Virginia Woolf summed up the change:

"All human relations shifted - those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics and literature." (13)

Serious theatre of the pre-war did not recover from the strains of the war years. It was replaced by the mass entertainment of the cinema and to a lesser extent the wireless which began regular broadcasts in 1922. Even the music hall began to decline. Cinema changed the pattern of life, particularly in the lower-middle classes. It took people out of their homes, women accompanying their husbands as they never did to other recreations, such as football. It eclipsed both church and pub and spread romantic, but by no means trivial values. There came an underlying spirit of tolerance and cooperation (14).

Economic Depression hit the world in October 1929, caused by events outside Britain, primarily the speculative bubble bursting in the United States on 24 October (15). Planning was the keyword of the Thirties, the standard was Utopia (16). Nonetheless the decade has acquired a bad reputation (17), one author even called it the "Devil's Decade" (18). Indeed the decade opened in the shadow of the Great Depression and unemployment rose to over two million and remained there

(19). There was also the abandonment of both the gold standard and Free Trade, and a souring of international affairs particularly with the discrediting of the League of Nations (20). These are perhaps the most enduring memories of the decade.

Nevertheless there was also a brighter side to the decade. Changes for the most part unplanned and almost unperceived brought about a greater range of prosperity than ever before. As living standards rose, Britain for the first time became a mass consumer society. This consumption came to determine economic affairs (21). Efficiency and improved techniques paved the way for mass-production methods for consumer goods. This, combined with motor transport, enabled direct delivery to multiple branches, and the beginnings of "Mail-order" schemes. The mass market "retailing revolution" had arrived (22).

The housing sector also continued to grow with the advent of the Building Society and the mortgage (23). Between the wars over 4.5 million new homes were built in the public and private sector. At the peak of the housing boom in the late-Thirties, a new semi-detached with bathroom and garage cost as little as £450 (24), in comparison, 88% of the working population in 1938 earned less than £250 *per annum* (25), whilst in 1933 *Country Life* quoted the cost of a 30ft by 12 ft swimming pool, concrete-lined and deep enough to dive into, as £200 (26).

When he made his *English Journey* in the autumn of 1933 J B Priestley found not the two Englands he expected, but three. There was the traditional England of literature and the history books including fox hunting squires and gnarled yokels;

and the bleak England of harsh industrial towns with rows of mean streets and factory hooters sounding before dawn. (A sub-division of this category was "the dole".) The gentry still followed country pursuits and belonged to west-end clubs, the working men still went to the pub and cultivated their allotments (27). The third and surprising England was that of the twentieth century which appeared haphazardly in unexpected places: shapeless, unplanned yet representing the ideal toward which all Englishmen unconsciously moved (28).

The traditional industries of the nineteenth century remained, but in a state of decline. They were replaced by new "light" industries. This shift in economic base with the new industries located in the south was mirrored by demographic movement, not only a migration of workers towards the new work; but also from the town centres to the rapidly spreading suburbs (29). The greatest changes were in the growing equality between the classes and the material conditions of life. In 1911 13.7m. (74.6%) of the occupied population were manual labourers. Due to population increase this figure rose to 14.8m. in 1931, but the percentage dropped to 70.3%. The numbers of White Collar Workers rose: 1911 3.4m (18.7%), 1931 4.8m (23.0%), 1951 6.9m (30.9%). Increases were seen in low grade administrators such as clerks in Government and industry. Professionals became increasingly recognised and their numbers also rose (30). An associated drop in the manual labour force was counteracted by opportunities in the new industries: electricity, car manufacture, gas and water supply.

The hunger marches from Jarrow and elsewhere were representative of the Thirties, but equally so were suburban residents warm in their new houses listening to the radio and often owning their own car (31). The decade saw a rising expenditure by a great mass of people on certain goods and services - food, clothing, social equipment and new electrical goods. Socialising expenditure also increased on such recreations as the cinema, dancing, smoking and gambling. For the middle class White Collar workers, those earning £250 to £1000 *per annum* this was a Golden age. The increased taxes were offset by increased income (32).

The prime instrument in the technical revolution was electricity. In 1920 there were 730 000 consumers, by the end of the Thirties the number had rocketed to nearly nine million. Electricity brought with it many labour-saving devices and household amenities. The portable electric fire allowed the almost unheard of luxury of a warm bedroom, the wireless was seen as an essential part of life, and vacuum cleaner sales doubled from 200 000 in 1930 to 400 000 in 1938 (33). The motor car also opened up the countryside to the masses, and encouraged family unity through day-tripping. The car became a great symbol of the Thirties. Private car ownership rose dramatically from just below 200 000 in 1920 to over one million in 1930, and to just below two million in 1939. "The baby Austin replaced the baby, the Nursery gave place to the garage." (34).

Furthermore, and focusing specifically on the arts, Read commented in 1933 that:

"There have been revolutions in the history of art before today. There is a revolution with every new generation, and periodically, every century or so, we get a wider or deeper change of sensibility which is recognised as a period - the Trecento, the Quattro Cento, the baroque, the Rococo, the Romantic, the Impressionist and so on. But I do not think we can really discern a difference in kind in the contemporary revolution: it is not so much a revolution, which implies a turning over, even a turning back, but rather a break-up, a devolution, some would say a dissolution. Its character is catastrophic." (35)

Read went on to identify the abrupt break with tradition which had occurred in painting - works by Picasso, the Dadaists, the Cubists and the Surrealists. The same apocalyptic changes had also occurred in poetry and literature, sculpture and architecture. This earth shattering upheaval was Modernism.

The name is clear and that innovation had occurred is equally clear. What is less obvious is the nature of the movements which came under the umbrella of innovation - the when, where, and why (36). In a sense Modernism could be described as being less a style than a search for a style in a highly individual sense, the style of one work being no guarantee for the next. The works of painters such as Picasso, Matisse and Braque; the novelists Kafka, Henry James and Joyce; the

poets Eliot, Lorca and Pound; the dramatists Strindberg, Pirandello and Wedekind; the sculptures by Moore, Hepworth and Epstein; and the architects Le Corbusier, Gropius, and Behrens are all remarkable by their high degree of self-signature (37).

In the garden there was some continuity from the pre-war years, for example Miss Jekyll and Lutyens continued to work, both individually and as a partnership, but clearly much had changed. The inter-war period has ostensibly been ignored by garden historians. There is a need to fill the gap, to establish the form and character of the British garden between 1919 and 1939. The aim of the following chapters is to define the inter-war garden, and to relate the changes (or lack of them) to the Matrix of Innovation.

CHAPTER 9.

Evolution of the Inter-War Country House and Garden.

Introduction.

Gardens need peace and stability to develop. Britain, albeit victorious, emerged from five years of war a very different country. The affluent and agreeable life led by the Edwardian wealthy was hit by the Great War. Taxes rose, the new death duty was punitive, a slump hit agricultural land prices and there was the psychological shock of the many casualties of the war (1). Much private land was sold immediately post-war. The largest sale was by the Duke of Rutland in 1920 who disposed of half of his Belvoir Estate, some 28 000 acres for £1.5 million. By the end of 1921 the *Estates Gazette* estimated one quarter of England had changed hands since the end of the war (2). Despite reduced circumstances many of the rich still had sufficient money for a shortened Summer Season in London and country house parties albeit on a more restricted scale. Many of the wealthiest landed families entered the inter-war years with their country seats of a smaller acreage. Paradoxically the sale of land and rationalisation of the households resulted in healthier incomes and more a viable basis for maintaining their position in society. During the inter-war years there were an estimated thirty landed millionaires and over seventy half millionaires (3). However of the 178 country houses in England and Wales listed in the Catalogue of *The Last Country Houses*, only thirty (16.9%) were built, restored or changed between 1919 and 1939 (4).

The Inter-War Country House.

It is not possible to contest that one architectural style dominated given the sharp decline in the number of houses built. Lutyens turned increasingly to grand axial planning and classical themes for his inter-war houses at Gledstone and Tyringham (5). However the most striking expression of change in house design was Modernism. With the maxim "Form Follows Function", its expression was characterised by steel, glass, white concrete and straight lines. The Bauhaus was established by Walter Gropius in 1919, and Modernist architecture reached Britain in the mid-1920s with Joldwyns designed by Oliver Hill in 1925. By contrast in 1926 in the same village, Holmbury St Mary, Hill also designed the vernacular Woodhouse Copse for which Miss Jekyll provided garden plans (6). The 1930s was a decade of establishment for the architectural Modern Movement in Britain. *Vers un Architecture* by Le Corbusier was translated in to English in 1927 and after 1933 Britain became a stopping post and a sanctuary for progressive architects forced to leave Nazi Germany. Modernism was introduced to a new generation of architectural students, many of them had their imaginations caught and they strongly influenced the shape of post-second World war architecture (7). Although Britain was temperamentally unsuited to make the sharp break with the past that was made on the Continent, Modernism can trace its origins back to William Morris: "The Arts and Crafts Movement also went to Europe, where it helped to shape the beginnings of the Modern Movement and the "Machine Age"". (8)

Besides Joldwyns the best known examples of inter-war Modern architecture are the house "New Ways" by Peter Behrens in Northampton for Mr Bassett-Lowke (1926), High and Over at Amersham by Amyas Connell for Prof. B Ashmole (1934), and Bentley Wood (1935) in Sussex by Serge Chermayeff for himself (9). High Cross Hill, visited by *Country Life's* "Gardens Old and New" in 1933, was described by Hussey as:

"probably the most extreme instance in England of the functional type of house associated with the name of Corbusier." (10)

Although members of a creative group the Modern architects practising in Britain, for example Hill, Chermayeff, and Lubetkyn were Skilled Imitators not True Innovators for they adopted the work of others and used it to problem solve.

Whilst Modernism swept some architects in to raptures of delight, it also had its critics. *Modernismus* (11) was a review of the Modern influence on architecture by Sir Reginald Blomfield. His literary approach was similar to that used in *The Formal Garden* in that he was against this new idea and singled out one author for the brunt of his hostility: in this case, Manning Robertson and his *Laymen and the New Architecture*. Another parallel with *The Formal Garden* was that Blomfield was convinced the only way forward for architecture lay in looking back and learning.

However Modernism was not the only expression of architectural experimentation

presented in "Gardens Old and New". Yaffle Hall designed by Edward Maufe and built in 1930 exemplified "British Industrial Art" (12). The house appeared as an unhappy hybrid of Surrey vernacular and Modernism. Birchen's Springs designed by John Campbell (13) appeared from the illustrations to be a rather unlikely hybrid of Mediaeval, Spanish Moorish and Lutyens Vernacular. Hussey picks up on this and asks: "Is it Modernism out of Gothic or is it a new Lutyens?" (14).

The Modern country house was an example of a product which emerged but found that the social environment was not conducive to its evolution. So whilst examples of the product were found, and the principles of Modern architecture were disseminated (predominately to the Primary Reader Group) the product did not survive. Nonetheless with the gardens and architecture so inter-twined it would be expected that this change of Modernism would impact on the garden as well as the house.

The Inter-War Country House Garden.

The country house garden was hit by privations of the inter-war years and their plight was highlighted by *Gardening Illustrated* in 1922:

"...the most famous gardens of England, which were a national asset and a nation's pride, are more or less under eclipse owing to the abnormal economic conditions arising out of the war." (14)

Winter gardens and conservatories that required extensive heating systems were particularly hard hit. In 1922 Avery Tipping observed that "the continued lack of labour and fuel had sounded the death knell for hot house gardening" (15). Perhaps the most dramatic example was the Great Conservatory at Chatsworth which consumed 350 tonnes of coal a year and was finally demolished in 1920 having grown cold in the winter of 1916 (16). Nevertheless garden-making did continue, albeit on a reduced scale. Miss Jekyll (aged 77 in 1920) and Edwin Lutyens continued to work. Brown lists fourteen partnership commissions between 1919 and 1928 (17). Blomfield and Robinson continued to write, but their hostility had abated. It has been noted that little historical analysis has been made of the inter-war garden. Therefore the following analysis was based on reviews of contemporary periodicals and monographs.

Periodical Review.

To provide consistency the same journals were used in the pre- and inter-war Periodical Reviews. *Country Life* continued to publish "Gardens Old and New". The pre-war journalistic shift away from the garden continued, and the numbers of seats visited also declined. Twenty-seven properties were visited in 1919 and 1922, nineteen in 1933, and twenty-nine in 1938. This compared with forty-nine in 1900, fifty in 1903 and thirty-five in 1914. Nonetheless the evidence indicates that throughout the inter-war period the Arts and Crafts vernacular continued to dominate. Correspondingly, fewer gardens displayed exclusively the Old English, Italianate, or High Victorian styles.

Examples of vernacular gardens include North Luffenham Hall (19) which had a magnificent sunken pool garden with associated planted dry stone walls, see Illustration 53; and Crowhurst Place (20) which had a "Dutch Garden". Flagged paths, sundial and edged beds of herbaceous planting were all visible at The Old Manor (21); and at Hall Place (22) the garden contained grass walks, yew arches, yew hedges, herbaceous borders and sculpture alongside the tennis court and a loggia. Even the garden surrounding the Modernist house at High Cross Hill (23) contained Yew hedges and an herbaceous planting scheme, see Illustrations 54 & 55. However the best examples were partnership commissions at Folly Farm on which they worked from 1906 onward (24), and Plumpton Place (25). The latter was purchased by Hudson in 1928. Lutyens acted as architectural advisor, whilst Miss Jekyll and Hudson had a long correspondence concerning the planting (26).

Examples of composite gardens which displayed Edwardian vernacular features within an historical matrix included Sutton Scarsdale (27) where parterres, terracing, gravel paths, topiary, statuary and stonework mingled with the herbaceous border and the walled garden, see Illustrations 56 & 57. Clipped yews, grass walks, a garden house, herbaceous and seasonal planting intermingled successfully at Sturry Court (28), while Halnaby Hall (29) a paved path covered by a rose-festooned pergola and flanked by an herbaceous border, see Illustration 58 & 59, mixed with yew-enclosed rose beds surrounding a pool with a fountain. More extensively reported was Biddesden House (30) where the old garden (including a knot) and walled compartments mixed with the new gazebo and bathing pool, see Illustrations 60 & 61, and the Edwardian herbaceous borders, sunken

garden and planted dry stone walls. Examples of gardens which remained High Victorian were Chastleton (31) which in 1919 had geometric beds of summer bedding set in the lawn, a formal yew-enclosed rose garden and topiary within a square walled enclosure, see Illustration 62; and Puslinch (32) which also had geometric beds of bedding set in lawns.

Unfortunately *Country Life* did not report construction dates for the majority of the gardens. However (in addition to Plumpton Place and High Cross Hill) three gardens were identified as made between the wars. As such they are key evidence for the character of the inter-war country house garden. At Breccles (1938) the formal garden had been designed by the architect Detmar Blow in c.1910 for Charles Bateman-Hanbury (33) but had been changed, see Illustrations 63-65:

"The garden to the south and east, and to which the epithet "Mid-Victorian" would have aptly applied thirty years ago, has been completely transformed within the last fifteen years under the guidance of the present owner...In place of a formal arrangement of beds margined with grass and gravel paths, there is now a broad expanse of lawn extending from the south front, with a long rectangular bed of bush roses on each side of the door on this front. The plain level of lawn is extended farther from the house in the form of a broad grass walk, which is flanked on each side by wide borders filled with a variety of ornamental flowering and fruiting shrubs...To the east and west are clipped yew hedges forming a

boundary to the lawn, and beyond are groups of trees which provide an attractive frame to the broad and open vista from the south terrace." (34)

"Modern" gardening tastes were also expressed in the displays of naturalised bulbs; and a woodland garden developed by R W Wallace some years previously.

Coppins, see Illustrations 66-68, was altered in the late-Thirties:

"A Victorian garden completely transformed in the last two years in accordance with modern gardening tastes a formal sunk garden, double herbaceous borders, naturalised bulbs, tulip borders, rock and water gardens, a wooden garden house and a...choice collection of flowering shrubs..." (35)

The two descriptions confirm first that country house gardens were altered between the wars; second that the Arts and Crafts vernacular continued to dominate; and third that the High Victorian persisted in some gardens throughout the Edwardian years and into the inter-war period.

One addition to the garden, which became "an expected feature of the country house by the young" (36) was the bathing or swimming pool. It was the subject of a *Country Life* article in 1933 which gave examples at Joldwyns, Valewood Farm (Sussex), Tyringham and Biddesden. It was observed that such a feature

"was not expensive": a quote for a concrete lined 30 ft by 12 ft pool deep enough to dive into was £200. This was a somewhat bold statement considering that the average annual income *per* occupied person was £154.7 in 1932 and £168.3 in 1934 (37). The practicalities of building and maintaining an open-air bathing/swimming pool were discussed by *Homes and Gardens* (38) and *Gardening Illustrated* (39). *Homes and Gardens* also debated the illumination of the garden using electric lighting (40).

The *Country Life* evidence indicates that the pre-war fashion remained dominant throughout the inter-war years. In order to corroborate this *The Garden* and *Gardening Illustrated* were examined for garden-making recommendations. *The Garden* "An Illustrated Journal of Horticulture in all its Branches" was edited by Herbert Cowley in 1919 and R V Giffard Woolley in 1922, and its contributors included Miss Jekyll, E A Bowles, and W J Bean. It retained an "informed" tone and continued to focus on hardy plants: their culture, cultivation, and naturalistic use. However there was an identifiable leaning towards larger plants - shrubs and trees. In 1928 *The Garden* was incorporated into *Homes and Gardens*, another Hudson periodical founded in 1920. Despite assurances given to the reader of *The Garden* at the end of 1927 that the quality of horticultural journalism would not be compromised by the merger, it was unavoidable that less coverage would be given to gardening under the combined format, especially since *Homes and Gardens* was a monthly multi-topic magazine and *The Garden* had been a horticultural weekly. Reasons for the merger were not given, and it has not been possible to discover why one of the more "classy" horticultural publications was axed. It is assumed

that Hudson was trying to increase the readers of the more diverse *Homes and Gardens* and/or that *The Garden* no longer maintained profitable circulation figures.

Nevertheless between 1919 and 1927 the features discussed by *The Garden* were dominated by the fashionable Edwardian garden. The rock garden remained very popular. Advice was offered with "Commencing a Rock Garden" (41); it was praised in its own right (42); suggestions were made for colour planting the rock garden (43); and rock garden steps were also discussed (44). Other naturalistic features such as the bog and wild garden (45, 46 & 47), and the wall garden (48 & 49) also continued to be recommended. Water was another popular topic with suggestions for "Economical Water Gardening" (50), planting for watersides, and pictures of two formal tank gardens (51). The garden ornamentation at Belton House (52) and the square, formal rose garden at Lowesby Hall (53) were praised. In 1922 there was help for the amateur in designing a garden, with a four-part series "Essentials of Good Garden Design" (54) which dealt with: "Simplicity and Directness", "Unity and Gradation", "Proportion" and "Restfulness".

Gardening Illustrated, the paper that covered "*Fruit, Flowers, Vegetables, Garden Design, Room Flowers, Garden Food, Bees, and Birds*", had lost Robinson as editor in 1918. His successor W P Thompson maintained the pro-naturalistic standpoint but without Robinson's dogmatic and aggressive oratory. For example, under the banner "Ring in the New" Thompson confessed that "nature was still at the bottom of the ladder, but it had reached the first rung and would climb" (55). The use of hardy plants in various but particularly naturalistic locations, and the

conviction that garden features were locations in which to grow hardy plants were the cornerstones of *Gardening Illustrated*'s doctrine throughout the inter-war years. Borders were still very popular, for example the herbaceous border (56), the winter garden (57), the front garden (58). Other naturalistic uses for plants were naturalising bulbs in grass (59) and the wild garden (60). Plant lists appeared in 1922 for the bog garden (61), the stream garden (62), and the Alpine garden (63). Other typically vernacular features were an alpine moraine garden (64), a small concrete lined pond (65), spring bed designs and planting (66), a wall garden (67) and tasteful furnishings for the garden - seats, fountains, sculptures, garden houses etc. (68). However, like *The Garden* there was very little help with garden design in the Twenties.

By 1933 Crowley had become editor and although the core naturalistic approach remained the same, there had been a diversification to include advice on garden design and associated subjects. For example, there was a "Debate on the English Garden (69); Jellicoe wrote a 3-part series entitled "The Case for the Architect" (70); and the President's Annual Report on the newly-formed Institute of Landscape Architects also appeared in three parts (71). Diversification continued, and throughout 1938 readers were kept up-to-date on gardening design with articles from "names"- for example Hughes (72) and Russell Page (73). Another new series was the weekly "Gardens of Britain" consisting of at least one (poor quality) photograph of a large country house garden with an explanatory sentence. The series "Garden Design and Construction" declared itself "A monthly feature dealing with the Problems and Methods of Design, Construction and Relative Crafts." (74).

The topics discussed were the staples of the vernacular garden. At the beginning of November 1938 came a change in ownership. *"The Journal for all Interested in Horticulture"* became a Country Life Publication. The format and presentation change, and becoming almost exclusively orientated towards ornamental plants.

The Gardeners' Chronicle had no inter-war change in style, approach, or target audience. Many articles continued to be written by Head Gardeners. The few garden features discussed were consistent with continued dominance of the Arts and Crafts vernacular. For example in 1919 and 1922 there was help with how-and-why to construct and plant a dry stone wall (75, 76 and 77); and the design, construction and planting of rock gardens were explained in 1933 (78). Water gardens were praised in 1922 (79), and construction advice for a lily pool appeared in 1933 (80). Photographs of gardens showed the sundial, gravel walk, and herbaceous border at Claremont (81); the herbaceous planting and clipped yews at Drummond Castle (82); and the long water pool at Campsea Ashe (83). New series followed the plant collecting expeditions of Kingdon Ward and Farrer (independently) to Asia in 1922 and Kingdon Ward to China and Japan in 1933.

In summary, the periodicals continued to disseminate garden-making recommendations which by 1914 had become a fashion. Furthermore the gardens identified as made or altered between the wars also adopted this garden style. This suggests selection (consumer demand) ensured continued fashion status, and that the social environment remained clement. In order to substantiate these hypotheses a Monograph Review was undertaken.

Monograph Review.

The first conclusion to be drawn is that the inter-war period did not experience the level of debate seen at the turn of the century. Nevertheless notable pre-war books were reprinted. For example the fifth and enlarged edition of Mawson's *Art and Craft of Garden-Making* (1900) appeared in 1926. Robinson's perennially popular *The English Flower-Garden* (1883) was reprinted in 1921 and 1926. The fifteenth edition appeared in 1933 and the fact that it remained in print for fifty years is indicative of how fashionable hardy plant gardening had become. Besides the many reprints of Miss Jekyll's horticultural books, her co-authored *Garden Ornament* was revised in 1927; and the 4th, 5th, and 6th editions of *Gardens for Small Country Houses* (1912) appeared in 1920, 1924 and 1927 respectively. The consumer demand that warranted re-printing is further evidence for the continued adoption of the pre-war gardening fashion.

The only book first published between the wars which set out to solely illustrate country house gardens was *English Gardens* (84). It described and comprehensively illustrated "fifty-two English gardens as they are in our own times." (85). The selection included gardens with centuries of history, for example: Herstmonceaux Castle, Chatsworth and Westbury Court; as well as more recent gardens, for example, Munstead Wood, Hestercombe, Port Lympne, Gravetye, and Iford. Although the gardens were shown "as they are in our own times", no mention was made as to which (if any) of the gardens had been created or altered post-1919. The photographs predominantly showed fashionable Arts and

Crafts features (often set within the historical matrix of an ancient garden). The book perpetuated the grand Edwardian idyll and would have provided the garden-maker with models to copy.

On a more intellectual plane Shepherd & Jellicoe's *Gardens and Design* (86) provided an extensive and thorough discussion of garden design and garden history. Although well-reasoned and well-illustrated it did not suggest a new direction for the inter-war country house garden, indeed the Lutyens/Jekyll creation at Marsh Court was used to explain certain design principles.

The Lesser Country House and Garden.

As the socio-economic framework of Britain changed, so did housing needs (87). Between the wars there was a social group who were more wealthy than the suburban dweller, but did not own an estate. Members of this group had a:

"desire for "some little" place in the country - not too far off so as to make the daily journey (to the City) irksome, yet far enough to be away from the hubbub." (88)

The desired type of house was large by suburban standards, usually of some five or six bedrooms and set within an acre or few. Tunstall Court was an example of:

"the kind of house many people would like to build today. Few

have the means, and fewer still the desire to erect a "country mansion" of the sort that was favoured 2 decades and more ago...The more general demand is for houses of less extensive accommodation, and less expensive to run." (89)

Country Life ran an occasional series "Lesser Country Houses of Today" which gave examples of this type of house. Unfortunately, the reporting bias identified in "Gardens Old and New" was also apparent in these articles. Architecture and interiors dominated, and in most cases the garden was reduced to an occasional glimpse. Nonetheless the evidence suggests that the Lesser Country House and Garden was a scaled-down version of the Edwardian Arts and Crafts vernacular Country House and Garden. For example the new gardens at The Old House, Purley (90), see Illustration 69, contained an herbaceous border, rose garden, brick terrace, a wilderness and a kitchen garden, see ; whilst Millfield, Tadworth (91) boasted kitchen gardens, hard tennis court, lawn tennis court, conservatory, croquet lawn, terrace, stone paving, rose garden, pond garden, bowling green, herbaceous borders and a garden house. The garden at Heath Hook Farm, Weybridge (92) was designed by Edward White:

"The verandah looks out onto a piece of sward enclosed by a squarely trimmed hedge, and the path leads round to a paved space with a lily pond in its midst, and a little garden figure as a focal point - this being part of Mr Edward White's garden work. From this paved space a path turns off to the left, and here one finds

oneself walking between wide herbaceous borders...The main way up from the paved space is by two wide flights of steps that lead to the tennis court." (93)

The article was poorly illustrated, see Illustration 70, and Mr Frank Marshall of Milner White and Partners was contacted for more information. Unfortunately many company records had not survived, although Mr Marshall was able to confirm that the client was Mr H B Sedgewick. The commission arrived at the offices of Milner White and Son in late-1918, and the work was executed in 1919 at the same time as the alterations to the house by Mr Horace Fields (94). The article "Milner White and Partners" indicated that Heath Hook Farm was typical of the work carried out by the company during the inter-war years:

"the most typical product of this time was...the small country house or suburban villa with, perhaps, five acres of garden. These gardens arrived in the office before the Second World War at the rate of three or four a week. It is difficult to isolate one example, but the garden at Godalming (Foldsdow Thursley for Alwyn Parker) is fairly typical: two or three formal, enclosed gardens, including herbaceous borders, a rose garden, and a circular garden with pool, are surrounded by lawns with tree and shrub planting and a circuit walk. The tennis court, kitchen garden and orchard were still *de rigueur* at this stage;" (95)

The gardener of a few acres could have used any of the dissemination sources already described, but Tipping's *The Garden of Today* (96) specifically targeted those "who cannot afford 'grounds' administered by a head gardener with a staff of a dozen or so" (97). Tipping's ideal garden was typical of the Lesser Country House Garden:

"immediately surrounding the house the garden should be formal, but in proportion. The terrace and associated dry stone wall may lead to the parterre or knot and onto a clean sweep of lawn, around the edge of which may be large blocks of herbaceous border. Beyond, a hint of nature with trees, woodland of trees and flowering shrubs under planted with bulbs, and a wild flower meadow" (98)

The endpapers showed the plan of Kitchen's garden at Compton End, see Illustration 71, and the garden was described as having "all the Arts and Crafts hallmarks" (99). Furthermore Tipping acknowledged a year after her death that Miss Jekyll had pioneered grouping plants in the herbaceous border for height and colour (100). This recognition and the three reprints of *Gardens for Small Country Houses* was further evidence that her and Lutyens' influence extended into the inter-war years. *Gardens for Small Country Houses* would have been a particularly valuable source of inspiration for the garden-maker with a few acres, and adaptation its contents would have furthered the spread of the vernacular.

Nonetheless it was perhaps the garden designer Percy Cane who managed most artfully to shrink the Edwardian garden into ever decreasing areas. He skilfully assimilated a standard set of garden features of Edwardian origin, with new plants. This "set" he squeezed into almost any sized plot. But the smaller the area, the more cramped the compositions became (101), see Illustrations 72-74. Cane exhibited at Chelsea throughout the period and advised the amateur through *Modern Gardens* and *Garden Design of Today* (see p.190). His periodical *Garden Design* was the first to address itself specifically to garden design. It ran from 1930 to 1939 and was published quarterly. Throughout the 1930s articles dealt with garden design theory, gave examples of well-designed gardens, explored the merits of different varieties of plants, and the appropriate use of garden sculpture as well as the design and planting of "public parks and the landscape generally." Nevertheless the magazine also acted as an advertising medium for Cane, and the great majority of design theory articles demonstrated his approach, and the garden visits his commissions. Examples of various sized gardens were shown, but the dominant theme seemed to be to cater for the owner of a Lesser Country House with a few acres of garden. For example designs for two acre gardens appeared in 1931 and 1933 (102), those for three acres in 1935 and 1937 (103) and for five acres in 1932 and 1935 (104). Designs specifically for smaller gardens were less common, but examples appeared in 1930, 1934 and 1937 (105).

Analysis.

Changed circumstances removed the conducive garden-making environment which existed before 1914. Fewer gardens were made, and less information about them was published, despite the two new methods of disseminating horticultural information - radio and television (106 & 107). In response to consumer demand the media continued to disseminate the vernacular product message. There was a dearth of new monographs written by True Innovators or Popularisers. All the evidence indicates that the pre-war fashion continued to dominate. In terms of the Matrix of Innovation this meant that the social environment must have remained favourable. However it has been established that the social environment changes in harmony with changes in society, and that society altered radically after the war to the detriment of extensive garden-making. It is suggested that the garden-making social environment altered but remained favourable to the existing fashion. There are a number of possible reasons to explain this. First nostalgia, the garden had been a symbol of the pre-war opulent lifestyle enjoyed by many country house owners. Much had been curtailed by the war and one way of keeping faith with the past was in the (modified) garden. Second, the vernacular garden form was successful in fulfilling the utilitarian requirements of entertaining, relaxing, recreation and pleasure, as well as providing beauty. Such requirements were still important in inter-war society, even in its reduced form. Third, finances were limited in many cases, and to re-design and re-make gardens on a large scale was expensive. Herbaceous and flowering shrub displays, and large lawns were less expensive to produce and maintain than elaborate seasonal bedding schemes.

Lower maintenance meant reduced labour, especially with the introduction of powered machinery. Such adaptations were identified by Gilbert in his lecture "Recent Developments in Garden Design" given in 1928 (108), and the shift towards flowering shrubs and trees was noticed in the contents of *The Garden* (see p.150). The Arts and Crafts vernacular garden continued to meet the needs of the owners on various levels - nostalgia, societal, practical, financial and labour based. In conclusion, the vernacular garden continued to receive wide scale positive dissemination, it was selected, and continued to be fashionable, and lack of innovation was summarised by Plumptre:

"Country-house gardens before the (second World) war, with a few notable exceptions, were conventional and, in many cases, dull. They were ornamental and important principally for the role they played in the country-house way of life that...managed to survive the 1914-18 war, if in somewhat reduced circumstances. There were usually some special architectural features: sunken gardens with terraces or retaining walls, gateways, small buildings or pergolas...because of the widespread influence and popularity of the style evolved by the partnership of Gertrude Jekyll and Sir Edwin Lutyens...herbaceous borders became almost obligatory, as were formal rose gardens filled with neat beds of hybrid tea varieties. ...If anything new was being introduced into gardens in the inter-war years it was perhaps more recreation than before...More of a novelty were swimming pools," (109)

CHAPTER 10.

Evolution of the Inter-War Suburban House and Garden.

Introduction.

This chapter examines the development of the inter-war suburban house and garden. At the outset a distinction needs be drawn between speculator-built, owner-occupier suburbia and Municipal developments. It was the former, the realm of the *nouveaux* middle classes which has attracted most attention from scholars of various disciplines. It was also this target reader group upon which the horticultural media focused, and upon which this study focuses. A summary of the Municipal house and garden is to be found in Appendix III. To fully explain the owner-occupier suburbia and its garden, the study examines it from two view points. First from a sociological standpoint, as a key part of the suburban *milieu* and its associated values. Second from a garden history perspective, which used contemporary horticultural secondary historical sources in order to establish the form and character of the garden. Both strands are drawn together as the garden is explained in terms of the Matrix of Innovation.

Speculator-Built Housing and Suburban Values.

In contrast to the decline in country house building, suburbia expanded very quickly between the wars. The policy for large scale building programmes had a disastrous effect on the size of cities, especially London. Land consumption increased

drastically because of the large gardens and relatively low housing densities. Four million families were rehoused between the end of the first World war and March 1939, approximately 33% of the population of England and Wales (1). The Government Grants of 1919 and 1923 aided construction of houses for sale; and increased competition, falling construction costs, the money flowing into the Building Societies from investors, and favourable interest rates all paved the way for owner-occupier, semi-detached suburbia. A typical semi- could be bought for as little as £450, about twice the average salary of a professional man (2). With the average interest rate at 4.5% the repayments came within the range of most of the middle classes and most of the "better off" working classes (3). By 1931 one fifth of the population of England and Wales lived in or around London (4). Purchasers of these new houses were primarily the *nouveau* middle classes - the insurance agent, solicitor, railway clerk, commercial traveller, hairdresser, stockbroker, bank teller, teacher and civil servant. These migrants tended to be in their late-20s or early-30s with a young family, the wife preferring to stay at home with the children whilst the husband brought home the salary which paid the mortgage, bought the car, and allowed for a two week holiday by the sea (5). These new dwellers had new needs: complex and deep aspirations for their homes rather than strict physical criteria. For example the historical associations, and images of security, fulfilment, and rural living, which were the essence of the suburb. These were the secret realm of the estate agent, the speculative builder and the purchaser, but were totally lost on most critics and writers (6).

The Suburban House.

An appropriate form of housing was necessary to meet the new owners' desires and aspirations and to display their achievements. The owner-occupier semi-detached house was essentially a status symbol fulfilling many romantic and symbolic images of the ideal home (7). The new Dunroamner (the terms "Dunroamner" and "Dunroamin" are taken from *Dunroamin the Suburban Semi and its Enemies* by Oliver, Davis, & Bentley (1981) and used as a general descriptive term for the middle class suburban dweller and owner-occupier suburbia) did not want his new housing to be confused with his Council-housed counterpart and a noticeable difference in styles arose between State and speculative developments. The architecture of suburbs up until this point usually followed, albeit in a diluted form, those styles practised by the great architects of the day. Inter-war, a style particular to the suburbs evolved. The speculative builder employed the picturesque "cottage style" based on the Arts and Crafts vernacular and the Edwardian rural revival (8). External (and internal) decoration was intended to evoke an "olde worlde" cosy cottage image, since the suburban dweller craved a "rural idyll" full of traditional values (9). The architectural style is often called Mock Tudor or Cottage Vernacular and also used styles and motifs from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods from where it gets its other name - Jacobethan (10). Many building exteriors evolved which allowed the juxtaposition of symbolic expressions of conformity and individuality. However the varied combinations of architectural detail on the facade did allow for surface individuality on what were essentially identical properties (11). The prevailing architectural styles and their

origins were satirized in *A Cartoon History of Architecture* (12). New owner-occupier housing was named "By-Pass Variegated" and described thus:

"If an architect of enormous energy, painstaking ingenuity and great structural knowledge, had devoted years of his life to the study of the problem of how best to achieve the maximum of inconvenience, in the shape and arrangement under one roof of a stated number of rooms, and had the assistance of a corps of research workers ransacking architectural history for the least attractive materials and building devices known in the past, it is just possible, although highly unlikely, that he might have evolved a style as crazy as that with which the speculative builder, at no expenditure of mental energy at all, has enriched the landscape on either side of our great arterial roads. As one passes by one can amuse oneself by classifying the various contributions which past styles have made to this infernal amalgam" (13)

Less popular was the style inspired by the International Modern Movement. The Modern style had little visible effect architecturally apart from occasional pockets of "suntrap" housing. Uncompromising, it was rejected in favour of a desire to return to a safer, cosier, more romantic age. Nevertheless it was fashionable to be modern in some way, for example the use of labour- and space-saving devices. Both architectural styles were highly modified and given distinctly suburban characteristics. There was an obstinate dislike of the neo-Georgian, the

predominating style in Council-owned estates, reflecting the inability of the middle classes to accept anything which did not conform to their mores, or which may have "lowered the tone" (14).

Regularity extended to the pattern of housing: not more than 12 per acre for the average earner's house, all with a front garden clearly delineated from the neighbour but open to public scrutiny. The rear garden was fenced for maximum privacy. The more expensive house might stand alone in half-to-one acre of garden (15). The house itself had a dual role: the national decrease of live-in servants allowed a smaller dwelling, but to compensate the home had to be highly practical, functional and modern. There was a new arrangement of rooms and new uses. The all-in-one sitting room replaced the separate family and reception rooms, there was a kitchen and a bathroom. Children had a more visible role in the household. And an ever increasing array of gadgets were introduced to make the daily chores less time consuming. At the same time it had to be cosy and cottage-like to meet the craving for a "rural idyll" full of traditional values - a "picturesque" if not positively romantic image of the country cottage (16).

Suburban Values.

Within the house roles were clearly defined: the husband bread-winner, the wife mother and home-maker. Life was clearly ordered into routines which represented the safety and regularity so important to the Dunroaminers. The year revolved around a two-week holiday and various school and Bank Holidays; the week

around commuting or house-making, and the week-end; the day around leaving for the train and returning late or the specific chores for the day be they shopping, washing, ironing, cleaning or walking the children to and from school (17):

"The regularity and punctuality within the transport system reinforced expectations as to the dependability and security within the suburbs." (18)

Mortgage lenders demanded the financial security of a job. Thus suburbia gained a reputation from its critics for a life synonymous with routine and regularity: the dullness of life dictated by the train timetable and the monthly repayment obligations (19). Nevertheless, suburbia fostered a home-centred society (20). What the Dunroaminer sought was an imagery that spoke of home, of family, of stability and of individualism. He saw no incongruity in having his home clad in the symbols of domesticity. As members of a community the suburban household had an effect on the image of the suburb in which they lived. That identity was achieved through the totality of hundreds of individualised environments; there were many constraints which exercised a measure of control on the family idiom while contributing to the unity of the suburb (21). Images of home and the values that were associated with it abounded: the Englishman's home was his cottage, not his castle (22).

However the attitudes against suburbia were multifarious and targets for attack included: the appearance of the houses, the spread of suburbia, the suburban

environment, suburban "values", and the suburban residents (23). As the suburban sprawl gathered momentum much of the criticism was directed specifically at the ribbon development which was effectively destroying the object of the new bypass roads. The Ribbon Development Act of 1935 amongst others attempted to stop this, but the root cause of the problem was the lack of planning in the development of suburbia (24). Increasing concern about the expanding growth rate of London forced Neville Chamberlain to appoint a Royal Commission in 1937 to investigate the distribution of the working population. The Commission reported in December 1939 that national action was necessary in order to decongest urban areas. It advocated a policy of decentralisation in which Garden Cities were to be included. The report was not acted upon until after the second World war when it played an important role in the rebuilding and reshaping of Britain - including the introduction of New Towns (25).

In summary, suburban development pleased landowners, developers, builders and the new occupants. The new suburbs continued to lure the middle classes with prospects of profit, status and happiness, but it pleased practically no-one else. Contemporary social and architectural critics were fascinated and appalled by the mindless creeping nature of the sprawl with its apparently insatiable capacity for devouring the countryside and obliterating scenery for the supposed purpose of enabling more people to live in semi-rural surroundings (26). The:

" "Suburb" has been a term which has never been free of controversy. Those who have written about it, lived in it, built or

designed it, have invariably had strong feelings either for or against it; they have seen it as the saviour of the population from the worst of city living or as the destroyer of the individuality of the population by its insistence upon conformity and the promotion of status division, competition and upward mobility strivings." (27)

A paradox existed and still exists between the bad image of suburbia and its success with those living in it. In terms of the garden, the house was its backdrop, and its owner was imbued with a set of values and images which were to influence its form.

Establishment of the Inter-War Owner-Occupier Suburban Garden.

The provision of substantial suburban gardens, the hallmark of inter-war suburbia gave gardening a fillip. The chat in the suburban commuter trains often concerned the latest additions to the seed catalogues, or the merits of the latest "Atco" mower (28). In suburbia gardening became an increasingly popular pass-time. In a survey of housing in Birmingham taken just before the second World war, "householders were asked if they valued the possession of a garden: 96.3% of those interviewed who had gardens answered "yes" and 78.1% of those without gardens said they would like them. Deeds spoke as loudly as words: the investigators reckoned that of those who had gardens and liked them, 40.9% kept them in good condition, 44.3% in fair condition and only 14.8% left them in a bad state" (29).

The garden was at least as important a feature as it had been for its Edwardian counterpart, it was an integral part of the Jacobethan cottage image (30). Many newcomers had no preconceptions of what form the garden should take. However there was a strong feeling of what was wanted. The new Dunroaminer was able to achieve personal aims because in economic terms he was better off than his local authority counterpart. More likely than not he had the freehold, and thus was able to mould his environment as he wished (31). A growing number of periodicals and books on carpentry, furniture making and gardening were produced for the home handy-man (32). Further recognition for the passion of gardening came from the increase in dissemination sources. Regular radio broadcasts began in 1922 (33). Radio licences rose from just over 2m in 1927 to over 9m in 1939 by which time 73% of households had one. The BBC broadcast gardening talks by Marion Cran in the 1920s and Mr Middleton in the 1930s (34). But perhaps the ultimate accolade to gardening as a popular recreation by the 1930s was the set of 50 cigarette cards illustrating garden flowers issued by W D & H O Wills (35). Of key significance was that:

"Dunroamin also offered its dwellers a variety of possibilities for direct physical intervention. Indeed, a large part of the milieu consisted of gardens towards which the dweller usually had to adopt an active role: each had to design and construct his own, and strong social pressures made it likely he would maintain and update his plot." (36)

Character and Form of the Owner-Occupier Suburban Garden.

Secondary Source Analysis.

The suburban garden was divided into the front and back gardens. The two areas served different purposes. At the front a low wall or fence defined the street boundary. Unable to provide privacy this was treated as a sculptural display element in its own right. The boundary and fringe of flower beds provided the frame for the canvas of turf or "lawn". Often the path to the door would be crazy paved or of laid concrete symbolically scratched to create the crazed effect (37). Crazy paving took its pattern from the cottage garden but it symbolised the creation of order from chaos and gave testimony to the industry, patience and capacity of the owner to control the elements in his environment (38). The front garden was exploited as a purely symbolic zone. It was a visual display open to all and the layout supported the self-expression of the occupiers (39). "Self" could be further emphasised by the choice of accessories of symbolic importance but no practical use:

"A pair of Storks one erect in masculine pose the other bent in female submissive posture, the pair symbolic of fecundity and faithfulness." (40)

Other popular ornaments were gateposts guarded by a pair of seated lions or by strategically placed garden gnomes. The latter apparently owe their origins to the

gnome gardens of the Black Forest and south-west Germany. Many portrayed creative activity with sexual connotations (41). The diagonal paths, symmetrically arranged flower beds, rows of plants neatly and regularly planted, and painstakingly nurtured; and the carefully tended and trained standard roses all abstractly represent important Dunroamin values - skill, industry, nurture, love, affection and unremitting devotion. Wild nature was tamed in the garden, its beauty appreciated, but its excesses such as weeds, unshapely shoots and unwanted stems were carefully brought under control (42).

The back garden was relatively large by today's standards, and might extend to 24-60m (80-200 feet) long (43), and was more practical and private, pretty rather than dainty (44). Typically of rectangular shape it was an arena for the exercise of creativity. It was here the symbolic possibilities of shaping ones environment were greatest (45). In contrast with the front garden, the requirements of family life had pre-eminence. For increased privacy the lap board fencing was often raised beyond the standard five feet near the house by the use of trellis, over which climbing plants could be trained. This screened the six feet of concrete terrace extending beyond the French windows. As well as garden furniture there was the opportunity to include ornamentation such as a sundial, birdbath or bird table (46). Here the rituals of the family outdoors were acted out - cutting the lawn on a Saturday evening, hanging clothes on the washing line, the children playing, the wife sunbathing, the husband practising his tennis stroke, etc. (47). As well as sensory experiences there could be utilitarian usage. Sometimes the garden was divided into two areas, with the more distant part screened from the house for a vegetable

garden (48). The ornamental planting of the back garden:

"owed much to the work of William Robinson and Gertrude Jekyll but now had a rather more orderly aspect than those two gardeners had advocated." (49)

The secondary source evidence suggests that the garden had a key role in the complex sociology of suburbia. It was a utilitarian area in which to perform the activities of home life; an area to display suburban values and conformity with ones neighbours; and an arena in which the individual could express "Self". To establish more fully the garden's form and character it was necessary to examine contemporary periodicals and monographs. Many new Dunroaminers had no horticultural experience. In addition, because the houses were often newly built the owner frequently had to create a garden from scratch. This situation made the Dunroaminer a captive audience - he needed gardening and garden-making advice to create a garden, to fulfil his personal needs, and meet the expectations of the neighbourhood. The horticultural publishing media understood the imagery of suburbia and exploited the market opportunity by disseminating a desired product to a large audience. This was observed by the Lady Rockley who wrote in 1938:

"periodicals had increased in number and circulation...And as for gardening literature, a dozen or more books appear today for every one which was published last century...The weekly gardening paragraphs in most of the leading newspapers, and the wireless

talks, all help to diffuse information,...There is no doubt that gardening is now the fashion," (50)

Periodical Review.

The Periodical Review comprised two parts. First, to provide continuity with the pre-war suburban garden, and to enable comparisons *The Gardener* was studied. Second, to reflect the inter-war boom in publishing a Supplementary Periodical Review was undertaken.

The Gardener changed its name three times between November 1919 and March 1920 (*The Gardener and Popular Gardening*, 15.11.1919 - 20.01.1920; *Popular Gardening and The Gardener*, 07.02.1920 - 20.03.1920; and *Popular Gardening*, 27.03.1920 - 26.04.1967). Thomas continued as editor and the journalistic approach remained the same as before the war: the recommended garden features were viewed as locations in which to grow a range of hardy plants. However increased attention was paid to garden layout in *Popular Gardening*.

Throughout the inter-war period *The Gardener* and *Popular Gardening* continued to popularise garden features which had become fashionable by 1914. *The Gardener* offered help with "Rock Garden Construction" (51) and "For Areas Where Stone Is Scarce" (52). In 1922 *Popular Gardening* associated the rock garden with a water garden (53), offered advice on "How To Make" a rockery (54), and in 1933 informed the reader how-to-build a rock garden in four

paragraphs (55). Water was another staple feature. *Popular Gardening* described a "Dutch" sunken garden in 1922 (56), and informed the reader how-to-make a water lily pool, a garden pool and a formal pool in 1933 (57, 58, & 59) and 1938 (60). Advice on wall garden construction and planting appeared throughout the period (61 & 62); and the formal rose garden also remained popular. Standard specimens were planted within a series of regularly arranged beds usually set in paving or grass. This allowed the suburban values of care, attention to detail and order to be clearly displayed. *The Gardener* offered plans for two arrangements (63), and *Popular Gardening* printed planting suggestions for formal geometric arrangements in 1933 and 1938 (64).

Certain ornamentation was recommended. Crazy paving, used for the patio and paths was commended and its laying described (65 & 66). Other popular choices included a sundial, a birdbath, a summerhouse, and garden furniture, and rustic woodwork. For example, "Making a Garden Arch" (67), "Rustic Work for the Garden" (68); a garden bower (69); rustic wood arches and trellis-work (70) and a rustic garden seat (71); and how to make a pergola (72), a sundial (73) and a moon gate (74). Such ornamentation echoed the suggestions for secondary garden features made by Rogers and other pre-war authors (see pp.127-130).

One Victorian legacy which survived was seasonal bedding. *The Gardener* and its descendants continued to offer the reader a range of schemes, for example: seven simple geometric plans for half-hardy annuals (75); an informal border of hardy annuals (76); formal beds for spring flowers (77); and formal and informal

summer beds of annuals (78). A *Popular Gardening* article of 1922 asked the reader "why not alter your garden?" and recommended a series of features: lawn, arches for roses, roses, a sundial, flagging with gaps in which to grow plants, water lily ponds and rockery mounds, dry stone walls and curved paths (79). This set of features was repeated later in the year (80). Further evidence that the Edwardian vernacular garden form dominated the inter-war years came from garden plans. *The Gardener* published four garden plans in 1919 (81), see Illustrations 75-77. In 1922 *Popular Gardening* published plans under the caption "here is a design that might appeal to you". These were formal in layout and included many familiar features (82), see Illustrations 78 & 79. Much was made by *Popular Gardening* of its offer to "Let Us Plan Your Garden Free". In both 1933 and 1938 suggestions for garden layouts were printed weekly alongside the caption (83):

"If your garden does not please you, study the plan given below. If this does not help you, send us a rough sketch of your garden, together with the coupon on this page, and we will design it for you free of charge and send you the plan by post in a few days."

The garden design offer was a generous one. Unfortunately it was not possible to establish the extent of the readers' response, nor the designers. However it was assumed that the plans were examples of the service offered. Examples of both formal and informal treatments were printed, but both approaches incorporated dominant features and ornaments such as: lawn, flower beds, shrubbery, rose beds, paths, pool, rock garden, crazy paving, sundial, trellis work, arch, bird bath,

garden seat and arbours. A vegetable garden was sometimes included, but not as standard, see Illustrations 80-90.

Supplementary Periodical Review.

From the list of seventeen periodicals identified, four targeted the secondary audience of Dunroaminers: *Amateur Gardening for Town and Country*, *Garden Life*, *Garden Work for Amateurs*, and *Home Gardening*. Those additional periodicals examined, but not found to be of direct relevance are summarised in Appendix IV. The four shared common characteristics: all were poorly printed on low quality paper; all presented basic horticultural advice in a simple-to-understand format; and all were published weekly at twopence or less. In comparison *Country Life* cost a shilling *per* week (twelve pence to one shilling).

Nonetheless the periodicals had individual characters. *Amateur Gardening* first appeared on 28 May 1884 and continued weekly until 28 December 1968. Between the wars an additional incentive to customers was the free weekly loose colour plate. Despite a bias towards ornamental horticulture *Amateur Gardening* provided advice on a broad range of horticultural subjects. For example, "Flower Garden Topics", "Best Hardy Fruits to Grow", "Types and Strains of Vegetables" and "Useful Greenhouse Hints". "Doubts and Difficulties" offered answers to readers' enquiries and "Seasonable Hints" gave the week's work in the garden (84). By 1929 "Gardening for Beginners" was offering very elementary advice and may have reflected a policy to increase circulation amongst new garden owners. References

to garden design, layout, and contents were few.

Garden Life, "*The Ideal Paper for Gardeners*" also had a bias towards ornamental horticulture. The literary style was explanatory and the advice was primarily "what-to-grow and how-to-grow-it", a format which altered little over the years. "The Town and Suburban Gardener" by "The Average Man" was introduced in 1923 as a "Supplement" (85) and became a regular feature in later years. The subject matter was almost exclusively ornamental plants, their culture and cultivation, and its introduction may have been an attempt to increase circulation by attracting the new gardener. There was limited garden-making advice.

"*As Simple as ABC*" the motto of *Garden Work for Amateurs* succinctly described its approach (and that of its competitors). Immediately post-war the contents were evenly spread between production horticulture and ornamental horticulture. By 1923 the subject matter had not changed, but there had been a shift towards a more cultivation-orientated approach. *Garden Work for Amateurs* incorporated *Garden Life* in 1928. Whilst adopting the *Garden Life* format, the journalistic style remained as before. However the Thirties saw a small swing back towards ornamental horticulture with an increase in garden feature articles.

Home Gardening "*The Gardening Paper for the Million*" contained tips for the house and interior, but was primarily a horticultural publication. A slight bias towards ornamental horticulture was discernable and there was also a free advice service. Garden-making advice was not extensive. The editorial to issue one (15-

03-1928) explained the need and desire for a:

"real home-garden paper catering for those who not knowing very much - knowing, maybe, nothing at all - about gardening, would yet make their gardens beautiful." (86)

The editor identified "thousands upon thousands" of such people and *Home Gardening* set out:

"to ensure every reader has a *pretty* garden as well as a wealth of flowers, really good vegetables and fruit." (87)

To help the amateur achieve this, "schemes...for the improvement of your ground." were included, and "charming features noted in other people's gardens" showed how others had "overcome their natural disadvantages." Such language inferred that the garden-maker should copy ideas - Amateur Adoption and Adaptation recommended by a dissemination source.

A fifth periodical, *Homes and Gardens* was a multi-topic publication which catered for those of the middle class with a relatively high disposable income, (or those who wished they had). The main subjects were various aspects of house ownership - interior design and household appliances, heating, lighting systems, furnishings, inventions and labour saving devices, etc. In 1928 *Homes and Gardens* incorporated *The Garden* (see pp.150-151). Despite assurances to the readers of

The Garden, the horticultural content of *Homes and Gardens* was limited - five or six sides tucked away at the end of each issue which comprised "Practical Reminders for the Month", "This Month in the Garden" and hints concerning planting and various garden features. However in 1938 there was a significant shift towards garden-making.

The periodicals offered the same range, if not the same frequency of garden-making recommendations as *The Gardener* and *Popular Gardening*. The rock garden was a favourite topic. *Amateur Gardening* offered planting suggestions (88) and construction advice (89) throughout the period. *Homes and Gardens* also gave details on how to design and construct a rock garden (90). *Home Gardening* ran "The A to Z of Rock Garden Building" in October and November 1928 and offered more suggestions in 1930 and 1934 (91). The rock garden and its planting were discussed in *Garden Work for Amateurs* throughout the 1930s (92).

Water in the garden was promoted by *Home Gardening* in the late-1920s and late-1930s (93 & 94), and *Garden Work for Amateurs* made recommendations in 1936 and 1938 (95 & 96). *Garden Work for Amateurs* also featured the wall garden in 1930 and 1939 (97), and *Homes and Gardens* advised the reader how-and-why to build a dry stone wall in 1938 (98). *Homes and Gardens* also offered a plan for a rose garden (99), as did *Amateur Gardening* (100).

Help with planting borders and bedding schemes was another common topic. *Garden Work for Amateurs* printed a very simple plan of a circle divided into

quarters for summer bedding in 1919 (101); *Amateur Gardening* offered bedding and hardy planting suggestions throughout the inter-war years (102); and *Home Gardening* helped with planting an herbaceous border in 1930 (103). *Homes and Gardens* also gave planting suggestions for an herbaceous border and a small garden of annuals in 1938 (104)

Few garden plans were found, but the examples showed strong similarities with those published in *Popular Gardening*. All used fashionable features arranged in a variety of ways. For example "Planning the Perfect Garden" in *Home Gardening* offered "Good Layouts for Villa Gardens" and "The Ideal in Home Gardens" (105), see Illustrations 91 & 92. *Amateur Gardening* printed plans for a 20ft. x 60ft., and a 40ft. x 120ft. garden (106). The former had a central grass path with a flower border on each side that ran the length of the garden to a summer house. The latter had a lawn with a crazy paving path running along one side, edged on the other by an herbaceous border, leading to a rockery and pool which occupied the farthest third of the garden, together with a summer house, see Illustrations 93 & 94. *Garden Work for Amateurs* reproduced a plan for a "villa or suburban residence" (107). The detached house was set in grounds which contained a shrubbery, a rockery and hardy flower borders. No comment is made on the layout, only on the planting of the individual features, although the author admired "...its chief feature - the entire absence of straight walks".

In 1938 *Homes and Gardens* published a series of seven articles by Athol Hutchinson (108). The articles and plans aimed to help the amateur design a

suburban garden through example, see Illustrations 95 & 96. For example "How To Plan Your Garden" (109) was the design for "a sloping site of approximately one acre". The garden had been created in spring 1937 and incorporated standard popular suburban features: the terraced site has a loggia and paving in juxtaposition to the house leading to two terraces (due to the slope), the top one comprised a rectangular lawn and adjacent formal square enclosing a rose garden, the lower one had a circular lawn leading to the herbaceous walk, terminating with a sculpture, the informal lawn and rockery, and the hard tennis court, see Illustration 97.

Monograph Review.

Contemporary monographs were examined to establish whether the results of the Periodical Analyses were reliable, or whether monographs printed new ideas which were not assimilated by the periodical press. The Review examined those monographs which offered the beginner help with garden-making and/or garden design. Examples of other types of book examined, but not found to be of direct relevance to the study are given in Appendix IV. Publishers were quick to exploit the new horticultural market. For example taking two categories from *Bibliographical Index Volumes I and II - Gardens and Landscape Architecture* (110): between 1900 and 1919 "Gardens and Gardening" listed 156 titles, this rose to 221 between 1920 and 1939. For "General Works" the figures were 87 and 97 respectively.

A number of authors continued to promote the concept that the garden should contain a series of features in which to grow a range of hardy plants. In *The Modern English Garden* (1927) Cox suggested that "the modern garden in the British Isles has grown up along with the plants therein." (111), and that:

"It might be said that our gardens are still in a state of evolution, but that is not the case. We are still moving forward, but the lines on which we run are straight and clearly marked in front of us: there they are, individuality and the successful cultivation of plants." (112)

The comment about individuality concurs with the suggestion that the Dunroaminer expressed individuality through his choice of features. Furthermore Cox indicated that by 1927 evolution had stopped. This links with the continued dominance of the pre-war fashion.

Excitement about the large number of plant introductions from Wilson, Forrest and other plant hunters was highlighted by Eley in *Twentieth Century Gardening* (113). He named several genera which had become fashionable - "rhododendrons, primulas, lilies, magnolias, nomocharis, to name only some," (114). *Twentieth Century Gardening* was praised by Hadfield in *A History of British Gardening* (115) as a realistic book for a time of financial depression. Acknowledging that the book was primarily concerned with the selection of plants, Hadfield suggested Eley was "innovative in the establishment of a *permanent* (his italics) garden":

"The design of this type of garden may be said to resemble the development of its near contemporary, the symphonic poem in music; it moves ceaselessly on, logically in a form that is loose knit compared with the regularity of the older symphony proper with its repetitions. The framework is formed by trees in their abundance of form and colour, which, rather than stone or brick, or geometrical ground plan, form the architectural setting. Shrubs, bulbs, and even long-lived herbaceous plants provide the decorative and textural elaboration." (116)

Hadfield's comments do not concur with Cox's assessment. Although 42 years had elapsed between the two sets of comments, contemporary evidence suggested that Cox was correct - that fenced rectangular suburban gardens had a framework of features within which plants were cultivated. Using the definition given in Section I (see p.41), it is not possible to class Eley as an innovator.

Although not strictly concerned with garden-making it is pertinent to give examples of books which encouraged the wider use of plants and demonstrate the wide interest shown in plant cultivation between the wars. The *Unconventional Garden* (117) and the posthumous *Garden Variety* (118) by Sir Arthur Hort both contained delightful descriptions of more unusual shrubs and herbaceous plants; and both fulfilled Sir Arthur's:

"limited aim of suggesting to the owners of small flower gardens

some ways in which their efforts might come to possess a greater variety of interest." (119).

Also at a personal level, *Some Flowers* by Vita Sackville-West (120) and *Gardener's Choice* (121) presented selections of plants, mostly hardy herbaceous, perennials or bulbs which the authors liked to grow. In the section on "Gardens of Today" the Lady Rockley succinctly summed-up the increase in amateur interest towards cultivation in *Historic Gardens of England* (1939):

"Amateurs were eager to grow the new introductions, and nurserymen rapidly met the demand by cultivating all new arrivals" (112)

Throughout the inter-war years the Dunroaminer was presented with the same product in a variety of guises. *The Modern English Garden* (113) contained 192 pages of Hudson and Kearns photographs of large Edwardian Arts and Crafts gardens, and an advertisement for the book actively promoted their adoption and adaptation:

"The Gardens of England are the finest in the world. You could not desire better models than are to be found in *The Modern English Garden*.

A Quarto book of over 250 illustrations, providing instructive and

varied examples which can be adopted or adapted whether the garden be large or small." (124)

As early as 1922 *Planning the Suburban Garden* (125) aimed to "reduce to a minimum the defects due to the gardens necessary limitations." (126), and the features deemed by the author as appropriate included: lawn and associated main flower borders, shrubbery, herbaceous border, rose garden, rockery and water garden, and bedding.

With seven titles published between 1923 and 1934, T G W Henslow took on H H Thomas' mantle and was the most prolific inter-war author providing garden-making advice for the amateur. Other similarities between the authors was their verbose literary style; their avoidance of detailed garden design theory; and the view that garden should be a series of locations in which to grow a range of hardy plant groups. Henslow claimed that his first four books were a series which gave assistance with the continual renovation and development of the garden. However the little garden-making help offered by *Garden Construction* (127) set the pattern. Henslow described a range of garden features from an horticultural standpoint. *Garden Development* was published later the same year (128) with *Garden Improvement* (129) and *Garden Renovation* (130) published in 1924 and 1926 respectively. The only modification in the later books was the inclusion of additional garden locations as the contents pages for *Garden Construction* and *Garden Renovation* demonstrate, see Illustrations 98 & 99. The two volumes of *Garden Architecture* (131 & 132) aimed:

"to teach by letterpress how best to construct and ornament gardens of various characters, periods and designs." (133)

Both volumes had almost identical contents, and both contained a comprehensive list of established features which could be copied. His last book *Suburban Gardens* (134) reiterated the same collection of cultural advice, familiar garden features, and popular garden ornaments which included: sundial, vase, fountain, bird bath, bird box, statuary, and cistern.

Henslow's commercial success over a period of time is indicative of a large consumer demand. Henslow identified and extensively exploited this market and provided the Dunroaminer with horticultural advice and a formulaic approach to garden-making which used Edwardian features and ornament.

Cook's *Gardening for Beginners* (135) offered horticultural guidance and plant lists for the same set of garden features. H H Thomas continued to write. As well as editing the *Popular Gardening Annual* (published between 1926 and 1937 and like its namesake offering basic horticultural advice), Thomas edited *An Easy Guide to Gardening* (136). Broad horticultural instruction was offered to those: "recently come into possession of a house and garden of their own." (137), but his garden-making guidance had not changed since the publication of his *Garden Planning and Planting* in 1912 (see p.130). The garden plans were still very simplistic, see Illustrations 100-102. In the Thirties Mr Middleton (who was famous for his radio broadcasts, see p.170) also discussed the same features from an horticultural stance

in *Outlines of a Small Garden* (138); whilst Hellyer's *Your New Garden* (139) proposed a three-year plan for creating a new garden using beds and borders, sunken garden, rock garden, rose garden, ornamental pool, dry walls, and lawn.

Brett's *The Book of Garden Improvements* (140) and "*Daily Mail*" *Garden Plans* (141) edited by Izzard (the newspaper's gardening correspondent) were neither horticultural nor garden design texts, but both illustrated garden features in a range of scenarios. The implication was that the garden-maker should copy or adapt these ideas. *The Book of Garden Improvements* was for those who had gardens but:

"feel the time has come for some alterations and improvements, to add the finishing touches to their gardens, to make the garden really a garden, and not a collection of features" (142).

Brett included: paths and edgings, pergolas, arches and arbours, terraces and steps, rock, water and walls, trellis, gates and fencing, lawn and games, summerhouse and seats; and ornamentation including sundial, bird bath, table and boxes, figures (gnomes) and dove cotes, etc. There were also photographs of these features in the garden, see Illustrations 103-105. The "*Daily Mail*" *Garden Plans* reproduced twenty-seven garden plans and perspective sketches for a variety of suburban situations. The designs were by well-known nursery companies, for example Wallace, Whitelegg, Bakers, Cheal, Russell, Brook, and En-Tout-Cas. Each plan was accompanied by a description. For example, "On a Narrow Plot" a straight double herbaceous border with grass path led from paved area behind the house to

a circular area of grass containing four rose beds and a central sundial, terminated by a seat, see Illustration 106. "In An Outer Suburb" showed a larger garden with a mixture of formal and informal areas, see Illustration 107.

All the evidence indicates that the Dunroaminer was supplied with the same advice from the different dissemination sources, all of which advocated the continued adoption and adaptation of the Edwardian fashionable garden style. However the dissemination sources so far examined did not help with the artistic arrangement of the garden features. In contrast to the pre-war, years a number of monographs were published which dealt with the complexities of garden design theory. As early as 1926 Solly advocated a well-conceived plan - design before cultivation - in her *Gardens for Town and Suburb* (143). Included were examples of designs by Ballie-Scott, Hill, Colvin, and Dixon. The idea of using the garden as an "outdoor room" (144) predated Brookes by some 43 years. Taylor, the gardening editor of *Country Life*, acknowledged in the preface to *Garden Making by Example* (145) that there had been great progress in garden development (by which it is assumed he meant garden numbers) but he was saddened by the "...general lack of originality shown in the design and treatment of the average-sized plot". His aim was:

"...to assist the owners of suburban and other small gardens to make the most of the space at their disposal and to guide them in its general lay-out and planting treatment." (146)

Taylor's approach was comprehensive: he summarised the principles of design; examined the use, alternative types, and advantages and disadvantages of Arts and Crafts features; and provided 101 pages of vernacular garden photographs. Finally he offered a series of plans for small and medium plots (147), see Illustrations 108-114. However these plans were reprints of the winning entries to a garden design competition organised by *The Garden* in 1914 (148). The plans were first reprinted in 1920 by Dillistone in *The Planning and Planting of Little Gardens*, the publication of which had been delayed by the war (149). That pre-war plans were still considered as relevant in the 1930s (and for that matter the 1950s when the third edition was published) is powerful evidence (taken in conjuncture with other data) that this style dominated the inter-war fashion.

The special winter 1926/27 issue of *The Studio* was edited by Percy Cane. In format *Modern Gardens* (150) was a precursor of the annual which appeared in the 1930s. Cane carefully explained the principles of design and the photographs may have inspired amateur garden-makers. A novelty was the inclusion of photographs of American, French, German and Austrian, Danish and Japanese gardens. Although *Garden Design of Today* (151) was primarily a promotional vehicle for Cane's work, he again gave a clear summary of garden design principles followed by discussion about individual features. Nevertheless Cane gave a good summary of what the suburban garden could have been:

"The design of to-day. In many of the better examples are found, unified into a comprehensive whole, terraces, pools, and gardens,

rich and varied in character of formal and informal design, all happily related, with a wealth of beautiful trees, shrubs and plants, not only grouped to show their individual and characteristic beauty of form and foliage, but placed to tell the greatest advantage in the scheme as a whole. To contrast this skilful grouping of trees and shrubs in glades of closely-mown turf, with the stiff and uninteresting shrubs and planting of Victorian and earlier times, will give some indication of the advance that has been made both in varieties of plants that are grown now and in the use that is made of them." (152)

Such a description could have applied equally to any well-designed garden of 1914.

Richard Sudell wrote three books in the early Thirties. *The Town Garden* (153) was a general horticultural text which dealt briefly with garden design; discussed the standard "set" of features; and offered examples of garden layouts, see Illustrations 115-117. His second book aimed at the amateur market, *The New Garden* (154) took a comprehensive approach to garden-making, which from the:

"unmade plot.(I).shall show the novice how to make an attractive and useful garden, in any plot, irrespective of size, shape or surroundings...with minimum effort." (155)

Sudell wrote in an encouraging and non-patronising manner. Basic design theory, construction techniques, plant selection and garden ornamentation were all clearly explained. Following the by-now established and expected pattern the garden features he included the pergola, figures, summerhouse, rock garden, pool, lawn, shrubs, roses and flower beds, many of which were used in the specimen plans, see Illustrations 118-124. Sudell's *magnus opus* was *Landscape Gardening* (1916), the inter-war counterpart of Agar's *Garden Design in Theory and Practice*. His aim was:

"to assist owners of gardens, professional landscape architects, horticultural teachers and students, town-planning committees, and all other persons interested in the design and use of outdoor spaces to a wider knowledge of the work of present-day landscape architects." (1916)

Clearly written and detailed, the book achieved its aim. Nonetheless Sudell did not introduce or disseminate anything new. Topics included garden history, design theory and chapters on the fashionable garden compartments.

Despite the fact this thesis specifically targeted garden-making to the exclusion of other forms of horticulture, such as fruit and vegetable culture, it would appear from the evidence that character of the owner-occupied suburban garden was predominately ornamental. Vegetable gardens were made, but were not obligatory. A possible reason for this was the allotment garden. The allotment removed one

aspect of the garden's functionality and enabled more space for ornament. The following is an assessment of the inter-war allotment as part of the horticultural landscape.

Allotments in the Inter-War Horticultural Landscape.

For almost two hundred years allotment gardens have been a familiar and ubiquitous feature of the British landscape (158). Although the allotment had its origins in the relief of rural poverty (159), it was the culture of working-class agitation for improved conditions and of self-help in which it grew up and was sustained (160). In 1964 a Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Allotments, chaired by Professor Harry Thorpe, was appointed "to review general policy on allotments in the light of present-day conditions in England and Wales and to recommend what legislative and other changes, if any, are needed". The Thorpe report made forty-four major recommendations, none of which have been acted upon (161). However the report also provided an historical insight into allotments. In 1913 evidence given to a Land Inquiry Committee showed a keen demand for allotments in almost every urban area (162). The outbreak of the first World war gave a tremendous boost to the allotment system (163) and the Government initiative to grow horticultural produce during the war achieved remarkable success. By 1918 when it could be claimed that "for every five occupied houses throughout the two kingdoms there is one allotment" (164) there were 1.5 million plots, compared to 600 000 in 1913. The most extensive growth was in towns and cities. Among the larger towns with particularly impressive increased provision was

Reading (165). In 1919 it was estimated there were no less than 7 000 new applicants a week for allotments. Various reasons were suggested for this large number: the welter of free advice disseminated during the war had increased interest in horticulture; the closure of munitions factories and decline in overtime left the worker with more leisure time; and vegetable prices rose steeply immediately post-war (166).

Between the wars there was considerable legislation which affected the allotment. The Land Settlement Act (Facilities) Act of 1919 was noteworthy for it deleted the reference to the "labouring population" from the 1908 Act. This opened up allotments to all, regardless of status or occupation (167). The Allotments Acts of 1922, "introduced a new concept into law - that of an allotment *garden*", an area of a quarter-of-an acre or less and used mainly to produce fruit and vegetables (168). The two principle provisions of the 1925 Allotments Act were the need of allotments should be considered in every town planning scheme, and land acquired for allotments must not be disposed of or used for another purpose without Ministerial consent (169).

Thus by 1925 the allotment was available to all; it was to be used for the production of fruit and vegetables, rather than for ornamental horticulture; and provision was to be made for allotments within an urban context. However by 1929 the number of allotments in England and Wales had fallen to below one million, less than 150 000 acres (170). Reasons suggested for this were a decline in the numbers wanting allotments, the growing pressures of town planning and the

use of land for other purposes, and most significantly the return of land requisitioned in the war to its owners (171). Despite a small rise in the Thirties, the decline in number and total acreage of allotments continued. By the eve of the war the number of plots had fallen to about 815 000, a total of 110 000 acres (172). Although a major reason for this was suburban development, it ignores the fact that the new houses gave millions of owners a garden for the first time, a garden which met their social needs and horticultural ambitions (173) as well as their social and utilitarian needs.

Although the Thorpe report gave no specific details about the inter-war allotment form, Ward & Crouch debated the "allotment aesthetic" and concluded the following. The formative period of the allotment landscape was the early decades of this century: "The strict layout of the plot was part of the moral landscape" (174). Land use pressures often constrained the amount and siting of space available for allotments (175). The available land had to be used at a maximum level, and plots were laid out to the perimeter usually meaning an uninterrupted rectilinear layout (176). Although the 1922 Act meant the contents were primarily fruit and vegetables, the predominant landscape of the allotment plot throughout much of the twentieth century was not formed through any conscious design. It did not have to conform to a particular way of seeing the landscape and its surroundings (177):

"The allotment is a collective undertaking, conceived through shared labour, and containing many idiosyncratic elements. The plot

holders thus create their *own* landscape" (178)

Therefore allotments assumed a whole range of visual identities (179). Unlike the suburban garden, there were no rules of appearance to follow. However "the formative conditions provided their own aesthetic" (180). Crouch and Ward's suggested the plot layout:

"...was reminiscent of the parallel pattern of the deeply hedged bulb fields of Scilly and, like earlier open-strip fields, presents a distinctive appearance that contrasts with the familiar large scale of contemporary rural agriculture. Often loosely hedged at the boundaries, with internal paths that are not quite straight, such allotments are called "country sites". This was a collective landscape where the holders invested their time and energy in cultivation, construction and care, producing the distinctive internal diversity of the allotment landscape. It is an intensive and inventive landscape, free from everyday outside controls and forced by necessity towards initiative and invention...the whole plot represents a valuable opportunity for 'unselfconscious and relatively unhindered formal expression', with 'an unrestrained simplicity which is part of its delight...design with room to breath...the quality of the unfinished work lies in its understatement'." (181)

In summary, the allotment plot had the same shape as the suburban garden, but it was a utilitarian area upon which to grow fruit and vegetables. In many cases the allotment plot was used by the less wealthy as an additional source of income (182), but allotment holders came from a wide social spectrum. As an historian of the first World war observed "the allotments of 1917 and 1918 played their part in the universal blurring of class lines - the gardening proletariat was well on the high road to middle class respectability." (183). This social widening was given a fillip by the 1919 Act. The allotment holder, regardless of social background had no pressure to conform to expected values, and the layout and contents of the plot were wholly the result of individual whim. In conclusion the allotment was a place of crop production. It crossed social boundaries and allowed expression of individuality, it was an important feature of the horticultural landscape between the wars, despite a decline in numbers of almost 50% between 1918 and 1939. There was no evidence for the ornamental landscaping that Thorpe in 1969 wished to see introduced into the utilitarian plot of the late-twentieth century. This would indicate a segregation in land use between the ornamental garden and the productive allotment. Perhaps the Dunroaminer did not wish his garden to resemble an allotment with its working class connotations and therefore segregated his crop production to the allotment, keeping the garden free for ornament.

Analysis of the Owner-Occupied Suburban Garden.

Many new suburban gardens were made between the wars. The horticultural media were quick to exploit the substantial amateur market. This was confirmed by the

proliferation of new titles, and the editor's comments in the first issue of *Home Gardening* (see p.79). The garden-making recommendations made by the dissemination sources examined were constant throughout the inter-war period, and were consistent with those made in pre-war years. These recommendations were a response to consumer demand. This is demonstrated by the similarities between the publications, and the increase in their number. By the mid-Thirties it had been recognised that:

"The gardens of Suburbia are rapidly becoming famous. They stand in a class by themselves, for size largely contrasts their varied designs, and sites that are subject to many restrictions decide the desired appearance." (184)

Stanley in *The Book of the Garden* stated that the suburban garden was: "...so varied in character that a description in general terms would be impossible." (185). Perhaps a little fanciful was the suggestion that suburban gardens would have to look beautiful from the air as the airplane became more popular (186). Jason Hill writing in *The Gardener's Companion* recognised the uniformity of suburban gardens across England, calling it "striking". Hill took a charitable stance toward the amateur suburban gardener, observing that:

"no one gives him credit for a profound humility and altruism, which compels him to make the kind of garden of which his neighbours will approve, and forbids him to assert himself against

accretion of bygone fashions which has hardened into tradition."

(187)

At a first glance it may appear these observations were contradictory, for example Stanley described suburban gardens "so varied in character" whilst Hill observed their "striking" uniformity. A distinction must be made. Suburban gardens were strikingly uniform in character, and there was an identifiable style. This was a consequence of the Dunroaminers conforming to expected suburban values, as Hill succinctly observed. The Lady Rockley gave a summary of this character:

"At the present time the small garden, entirely remodelled or newly laid out, generally contains a variety of enclosures grouped on some system. The most common plan is to have near the house a gravel walk, or terrace, frequently with rough paving, and, where the ground permits, steps to a formal enclosure. This does not consist of the little beds cut out in grass of the last generation, but is generally a smooth turf lawn surrounded by a deep border of flowers, perhaps backed by flowering shrubs. A sunk garden with low retaining walls, in which small plants are inserted, is a favourite variation from the grass. A summer house of fairly substantial proportions, in which meals can be served, is a common addition.

Water is introduced, either in a round or rectangular tank, perhaps with a fountain and goldfish as a central point of interest, or a pond

with a more natural outline for water plants is made in the wilder garden beyond...the rock garden, which nowadays is considered essential." (188)

Despite the stereotyping of the garden's character, its form was dependent on the individual's choice of features and their arrangement. Based on the regularity and frequency with which certain features and ornaments were cited, it is suggested there was a "set" of features and ornaments used in suburban gardens. This set comprised the following: the formal water garden, the rock garden, the wall garden, the rose garden, annual borders, herbaceous borders, the bulb garden, the fern garden, and lawns (including the tennis and croquet lawns) and paths (including crazy paving; sundial, vase, fountain, bird bath, bird box, statuary (including gnomes), and cistern. It was the almost infinite number of possible combinations and arrangements of these features and ornaments which gave the suburban garden its great diversity of form.

In terms of the Matrix of Innovation the inter-war suburban garden did not evolve. Despite the great socio-economic changes, and the revolution of Modernism in other art forms, within newly-built suburbia the fashionable product continued to experience Amateur Adoption and Adaptation which ensured its continued dominance throughout the inter-war years.

It was observed that the garden-making social environment altered in the country house garden, but remained favourable to the existing pre-war fashionable garden

style. Clearly a similar phenomena occurred in suburbia, or rather a new social environment specific to the new suburban garden came into being. The following reasons are suggested for this social environment being favourable to the existing fashion. First the new Dunroamner was enmeshed in a suburban culture which created a set of values to which the dweller was expected to conform. Second, the Dunroamner as an individual had aspirations towards the imagery of rural living, and the expression of the symbols associated with traditional values. Third the Jacobethan house and the utilitarian activities associated with home life required an appropriate setting. The suburban vernacular met all these needs. Nonetheless it must be remembered that no alternative to the vernacular was disseminated. The country house garden had not altered, and thus there was nothing new to emulate.

However as a product experiences mass adoption and adaptation the ethos behind the innovation may become eclipsed and the true message lost. This in turn may lead to a stagnation of ideas. Russell Page reported that this happened to the teachings of Miss Jekyll during the inter-war years. His article "Roses and Flowers" published in 1938 was confirmation of the continued fashion-status experienced by the partnership product, but it also revealed that far from being beneficial this had been detrimental both to the original product, and to the development of new products:

"The English garden has once again crystallised. Fifty years ago the battle of gardening styles was fought between the formalists and such pioneers as William Robinson and Gertrude Jekyll, who wished

to break down the conventional barriers which surrounded the 19th century English garden....Gertrude Jekyll, an artist before she was a gardener, combined feeling and understanding with horticulture, and developed an inspired garden form where free planting was always played off against rigidly simple planning and good architectural form and material.

The English gardener, once shown the way, was quick to appreciate and develop this new form, but time passed, and Miss Jekyll's inspired formulae have become commercialised and commonplace.

It is true to say all new gospels lose their force in time and are observed to the letter rather than in spirit. Each principle laid down by Miss Jekyll bears possibilities as noble as ever before, but now they need retelling if the lively spirit of English gardening is not to die and lie buried under a welter of anaemic colour schemes.

In gardens large and small all over the country people have ably solved the problems of presenting new plants in attractive garden settings. They will first lead you past that desolate strip of colour-speckled greenery, the herbaceous border which is of necessity "past its best," or "going to be lovely in a fortnight." Then you will go through a Rose garden where miserably stunted bushes, drained of all vitality, manage to throw up a few lax green wands topped by a

large, scentless, and probably sunset-coloured bloom.

Next, perhaps, comes the rock garden, a craggy compromise between sheets of bright *Aubrietia* and *Helianthemum* and arid reaches of pebbles supporting minute tufts of rare *Compositae*.

At last, if the gardener is a lover of such things, you may find an Alder swamp exquisitely planted with only pink and white Asiatic *Primulas*, or a builder's yard converted into a good *Iris* garden. It is in such places, when a problem exists for which no solution is offered by gardening books or conventional practice, that real gardening lives and grows.

Perhaps we could drop the worn-out formulae - the "herbaceous border," the "Rose garden," and the "mixed shrub border." (189)

CHAPTER 11.

The Garden Design Profession: Success and Failure.

The previous two chapters established the form and character of the British inter-war garden, and explained its evolution in terms of the Matrix of Innovation. This last chapter examines the professional garden designer and the garden design profession in terms of Matrix of Innovation. It also explores the fleeting expression of Modernism in the garden which appeared on the eve of the second World war, and briefly examines its impact on the post-1945 landscape.

The Professional Garden Designer.

Creative individuals did practise between the wars, for example, Jellicoe, Crowe, Colvin, Sudell, Cox, Cane, Hill etc. It has been established that the Creative Process is spontaneous and new ideas will emerge regardless. However between the wars there was no debate about the future direction of garden-making, and prior to 1936 no new ideas were disseminated. The creative group members who did write universally disseminated the fashionable product, for example the books by Sudell, Cox, and Cane (see pp.183 & 190-192) and Cane's periodical *Garden Design* (see p.159). In interview Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe made comments about certain inter-war gardens and garden designers:

"Being a fiery student in those days I didn't like Mawson's work a bit. But as I grow older I think he was very interesting, pseudo-

classical. He joined the modern world to the old world in a very interesting way...Blomfield simply was interested in reviving the past, all the top chaps were...

(Inter-war gardens)...were all Edwardian, they were based on history, on Lutyens. The only man I know who was really, really influential was Lutyens." (1)

The evidence suggests that in terms of furthering garden design, the professional failed. Even Jellicoe who practised as a Modern architect, designed gardens to meet consumer demand, for example Ditchley Park. He freely admits that his inter-war garden design was: "dead from the neck up" (2). A possible reason for the lack of progress was that the social environment was not conducive to the establishment of new products.

Garden Design by Nursery Companies.

Certain horticultural nurseries provided a garden design-and-build service. The nurseries also employed creative individuals, for example Sylvia Crowe worked for Cutbush Nursery throughout the inter-war years after a spell at Milner White & Sons (3). If creative individuals had new ideas, it was speculated that these may have been disseminated through the Nurseries' promotional literature. A search was made for relevant Nursery Catalogues, and the results are presented in Appendix V. But in summary though, nothing new was disseminated. The

Nurseries all provided the fashionable garden form for both large and small gardens. The hypothesis could be made that the Nurseries not only responded to consumer demand and provided a fashionable style of design, but also shaped or perpetuated this demand in order demand to sell their stock of plants. Nonetheless those who selected the Nursery disseminated product, either by purchasing a design, or using the Catalogues as a source of inspiration helped ensure the continued dominance of the fashion. Like the media and the professional designer, the Nurseries failed to move garden design forward.

The Chelsea Show.

Many of the Nursery Companies and professional designers exhibited at the Chelsea Show, examples are displayed in Table 2 (see p.208). The Show was, as it still is, an annual event organised by the Royal Horticultural Society and held each May in the grounds of the Royal Chelsea Hospital. Although strong rivalry exists between competitors, and to win "A Gold at Chelsea" is to attain a level of horticultural excellence, the Show is primarily a shop window for the horticulture industry. Tens-of-thousands of visitors come expecting to see exciting new plants, imaginative gardens, and the latest horticultural sundries, reciprocally the industry has the opportunity to display their new, sometimes extravagant and outlandish offerings.

Between the wars the Outdoor Garden Competition was divided into Rock Gardens and Formal Gardens. The Show Catalogues listed the exhibitors but gave no

further details, see Table 2 (see p.207). The horticultural press covered the show, but the reports were dominated by the plants used rather than the gardens. *The Gardeners' Chronicle* was the only periodical with reviews for the years 1919, 1922, 1928, 1933 and 1938 (4).

The brief descriptions do not enable differentiation the finer merits of individual Rock Garden exhibits. Descriptions of the Formal Gardens were also brief and there were no reports of anything "different" or "new". The features named were the familiar pergolas, lawns, summerhouses, sunken gardens and pools, hard tennis court, gardenhouses, herbaceous border, paving and terracing, ornament and topiary. In effect the gardens were "calling cards" of the Nurseries and designers, and a parallel can be drawn with the Nursery Catalogues. Both those who employed a professional, and those who simply used Chelsea as a source of inspiration would have selected the same product. It is concluded that the Chelsea Show failed to stimulate designers to attempt "something different".

Table 2: Nursery Companies which Exhibited Display Gardens at the Chelsea Show.

	1919	1922	1933	1938
G Bunyard & Co.	Y	Y		Y
. J Carter & Co.		Y	Y	Y
J Cheal & Sons Ltd.		Y	Y	Y
W Cutbush & Sons		Y		
Dartington Hall Ltd.			Y	Y
E Dixon		Y	Y	
C Elliot Ltd.	Y	Y	Y	Y
W H Gaze & Son		Y	Y	
Knap Hill Nursery			Y	Y
J Pulham & Sons	Y	Y	Y	Y
R Wallace & Co.	Y	Y	Y	Y
J Waterer & Son & Crisp.	Y	Y	Y	Y
G Whitelegg & Co.	Y	Y	Y	Y
W Wood & Son Ltd.			Y	

The 1928 International Exhibition of Garden Design.

An important event took place in October 1928. The first "International Exhibition of Garden Design and Conference on Garden Planning" was organised and hosted by the Royal Horticultural Society. The aim of the eight-day event (17th-24th) was to increase public awareness about garden-making and garden design. The Exhibition was in five sections and full details of the exhibits and transcripts of the 13 papers read at the Conference were published by the RHS (5). A brief summary is presented in Appendix VI.

The lecture "Recent Developments in Garden Design" given by Gilbert H Jenkins (later a President of the Institute of Landscape Architects) was typical of the retrospective attitude to garden design which dominated the inter-war years. Jenkins looked back to the Formal *versus* Informal debate, to Miss Jekyll to whom "we owe much of the beauty of modern gardening" (6), and the introduction of new plants by Farrer, Forrest and Wilson "who, besides specializing in Rhododendrons, Primulas, and Poppies, have introduced many new species of flowering shrubs and plants." (7). The comments on the inter-war garden stated only that economic costs had encouraged the use of labour saving powered machinery, and that the garden layout had been simplified by the increased use of flowering shrubs.

Many Nurseries and designers exhibited photographs of their work, and the brief descriptions printed in the Catalogue reveal that fashionable garden design dominated the Exhibition. The list from Ernest Cheal of J Cheal & Sons, Ltd. was

typical with a comprehensive list of the garden features common to many of the exhibitor's gardens (see Appendix VI.).

Response to the Exhibition from *The Gardeners' Chronicle* was favourable concerning the displays of pictures and the garden ornament (8). The leader in *Gardening Illustrated* expressed the hope that the exhibition would encourage the public by demonstrating what could be achieved, that is to say well-executed garden design (9), but criticised the "backwardness and lack of design" in the British gardens of the 1920s:

"Indeed, though it may sound a rather sweeping assertion to make, the traditions of English gardenage are not being upheld as they should be in the past decade so far as they apply to design. Certainly in the realms of science and cultivation the present century has already seen giant strides made,... but the fact remains that design, so far from being in the van of these, as it should be, is at present fighting a rearguard action, and showing no immediate signs of regaining its lead...If we seek the reasons for the backwardness of design in the present decade there are several that suggest themselves. One is surely that, whereas the French as a nation probably think most of artistic design in gardens as in everything else, the English are essentially lovers of plants and of wild Nature; further, they like to be independent," (10)

Criticism followed that the vast influx of plants had led to a collector mentality, and that the situation had not been helped by a:

"lack of thorough co-operation between architects and plantsmen and the dearth of professional landscape architects." (15)

The piece ended with the hope that the lack of innovation and poor design was only a "passing tendency to be satisfied with slipshod work." Although the Exhibition failed in as much as it did not present anything new to the visitor, it did succeed in raising questions about the quality of inter-war garden design. More importantly it provided the stimulus which resulted in the formation of the Institute of Landscape Architects.

The Institute of Landscape Architects.

The poor standard of garden design and the retrospective approach to garden-making at the 1928 show caused Stanley V Hart to write to *Gardening Illustrated* proposing an Association of Garden Architects and asking interested parties to contact him (12). In 1929 an advertisement appeared in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* asking those interested in forming a Society of Garden Architects to attend a meeting at 9 Gower Street on 20 February 1929 at 7.00pm (13). Invitations were to be obtained from Richard Sudell at whose office the meeting was to be held. At the meeting a provisional committee was formed, and at the Chelsea Show on May 23 1929 between thirty and forty potential members met in a tent (14). Sudell was

elected Chairman and Hart Honorary Secretary of the British Association of Garden Architects (BAGA). Memories of the inauguration of the BAGA and the birth of the Institute were recorded by founding members Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe in *Reflections on Landscape* (15). Brenda Colvin in *The English Garden in Our Time* recalled how Percy Cane "prowled around" the Chelsea meeting, listening but taking no part; how Thomas Mawson and Gilbert White were doubtful if a new professional body was needed. Both were of the opinion that their firms could carry out all the work likely to be commissioned in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless the two were persuaded to join and became the first and second Presidents of the Institute (16).

In January 1930 the Association changed its name to the Institute of Landscape Architects - the ILA (17) and for the first time in Britain there was a professional body for the landscape architect. The aims and objectives of the Institute and the fields of work in which it wished to become involved are discussed in *The Institute of Landscape Architects 1929 - 1939* (18). By February 1930 the membership was 18 Fellows, 12 Associates, 6 Honorary Associates, 4 Ordinary Members and 2 Students (19).

In the spring of 1934 *Landscape and Garden*, "a Quarterly Journal devoted to Garden Design and Landscape Architecture", was launched by the Institute. E Prentice Mawson (son of Thomas), the President of the Institute wrote the Introduction to the first issue in which he emphasised that the aims of the Institute must be disseminated to the whole nation, and that it was:

"singularly appropriate that a body of experts in landscape and garden design should, in the true interests of art, publish their official Journal in a form which will be a guide in all phases of their work, not only to the profession but to the general public," and that the profession is "...co-equal with the highest of the arts..." (20)

The articles were informative and written in such a way as both professional and amateur could benefit from them. The topics tackled were wide ranging and included: design theory, garden features, plants and planting, examples of Members' work, and gardens from abroad. Many written by prominent Institute members, for example, Jellicoe, Giffard Woolley, Lady Allen of Hurtwood, Sudell, White and Colvin.

Occasionally the phraseology was elitist and open to misinterpretation, and some articles had an understandable zealot feel to them. "Place and Function of the Landscape Architect" by Prentice Mawson (21) extolled the virtues and worthiness of the landscape architect. "Gardening and Landscape Architecture" by Adams (22) promoted a distinction between gardening and landscape architecture. Adams repeated a claim made by Blomfield some fifty years earlier, that the gardener cannot be a designer. The distinction now was that it was the landscape architect, not the architect who must be a master of all trades. Nevertheless the laudable aims were that the new professional must be well-educated, well-trained, well-experienced, and must perform to the highest professional standards in order to meet the challenge. This challenge was to extend beyond designing gardens into

the design, preservation and education of a new progressive Britain.

Despite the wide range of issues tackled by *Landscape and Garden*, the new professionals at the "cutting edge" of garden design and landscape architecture did not disseminate new garden-making ideas. Indeed, examples of Fellows and Members work all displayed the formulaic approach incorporating the omni-present Edwardian features, for example: Giffard Woolley's a quarter-acre suburban garden (23), Hart's St. Bernards at Gerrards Cross (24), and Wilson's three acre garden (25). The designer of four, half-acre gardens was not named but three all bore the hallmarks of Percy Cane (26). The costs were given at between £225 and £401, a great deal of money for the average earner. Furthermore it has been noted that several Institute Members wrote on garden design for the amateur (see pp.183 & 190-192), but tailored their advice to consumer wants.

Therefore the ILA succeeded as far as establishing a new professional body with laudable aims, and in beginning the process of integrating landscape architecture into the process of landscape design. However it failed to break the grip of the vernacular fashion on garden design.

Modernism in the Garden.

In Chapter 8 it was explained that between the wars Modernism revolutionised many art forms, including architecture, but so far in this thesis none of the sources used have included Modernism in the garden. But in the Forward to the 1936

volume *Gardens and Gardening* (an annual published by *The Studio* for the keen amateur), which from its inception in 1932, up until this point had provided craft of horticulture and vernacular garden-making recommendations, the editor F A Mercer asked the rhetorical question "Is there a 1936 style?" (27). In reply Mercer recognised "a definite trend" towards "what is called modernism" in architecture, furnishing and decoration of the home, but "this does not seem to apply to gardens, which seem mostly to follow traditional lines." (28). This prompted a second question:

"Is it that no effort has been directed towards the adaptation of the garden to the new style of buildings, or has it been found that gardens do not lend themselves to the new treatment?" (29)

No answer was given, but it is suggested that by the mid-Thirties no-one had tried to create a Modern garden in Britain. The Modernist ethos was championed by artists and sculptors - Ben Nicholson, Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth; by architects - Professor Peter Behrens, Maxwell Fry, Geoffrey Jellicoe, Walter Gropius and Serge Chermayeff. However, not even Behrens took the step from architecture to the garden. He had surrounded "New Ways", his early Modernistic house in Northampton with an "old-fashioned, cute, quaint, kitsch crazy paving!" (30).

As Bisgrove (1990) observed: "in Britain with its much stronger tradition of plantsmanship, the struggle to cast off outmoded ideas was a difficult one" (31).

Bisgrove used as an example Taylor's *The Modern Garden* which first appeared in 1936. The Introduction displayed illustrations of Modernist houses with laudatory captions, and observed that:

"Nowadays, most people are finding their conception of beauty changed by the new shapes and materials around them...Now, with the coming of steel and reinforced concrete that has enabled us so completely to revise our traditional idea of a house, it would appear that the structural work in garden design, in terrace walls, pools, will remove it far from conventional English style." (32)

However the following 200 pages of photographs from the *Country Life* archive illustrated Edwardian gardens resplendent with formal gardens, dry stone walls, rock and water gardens, herbaceous borders, wild and woodland gardens, and rose gardens. Elliott (1995) stated that this book "may be considered as the inter-war counterpart" to Miss Jekyll and Weaver's *Gardens for Small Country Houses* (33).

The work of Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe, a founding member of the ILA, is a good example of how Modernism was excluded from the garden. Jellicoe trained as an architect and turned to garden design in the late-Twenties (34). In 1933, at the same time that he was designing the Italianate gardens for the Trees at Ditchley Park, he was also designing the Modernist restaurant in Cheddar Gorge (35). Jellicoe stated that Britain "fought off the Modern Movement jolly hard" (36). When asked for impressions of inter-war innovation in garden design Jellicoe

observed that there was:

"Jolly little! Except for Tunnard...He was the only pioneer in the Modern field...I think his work was exploratory." (37)

Much of Christopher Tunnard's early life remains a mystery but it is known that he was born in Victoria, British Columbia in 1910 and received a Diploma from the College of the Royal Horticultural Society at Wisley in 1930. From 1932 to 1935 he worked as a planner in the London offices of Percy Cane before establishing his own landscape architect practice in 1936 (38). Tunnard visited the continent in the early-Thirties where he met Modern garden designers and saw their work (39). Upon his return he submitted a series of articles to *Architectural Review* in 1937 (40) in which he "launched into a caustic attack on the most sacred symbols of 200 years of English landscape history" (41). The articles provided the basis for his 1938 *Garden in the Modern Landscape* (42).

Tunnard was alone when it came to conceptualising the new ideas in the inter-war garden, and *Garden in the Modern Landscape* was the only monograph published at the time which promoted a new approach to garden design. It was described by Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe in interview as the: "most innovative and influential book of the inter-war years" (43). In places it was a "good shocking reading but so much of the Modern Movement was about shocking" (44). Tunnard assaulted the garden landscape of the past two hundred years, and even Miss Jekyll did not escape. The arguments were not always consistent, and in places were irrational. However the

book did have a constructive half. Armed with the idea that he needed to produce a picture in a frame, and prospect (the former resulted from condensing the Picturesque to what it essentially was, the influence of paintings; doing the same with the settled landscape of the English Landscape School to produce the latter) Tunnard identified three sources of inspiration appropriate to a modern approach: Functionalism, or fitness for purpose; the empathic, an orientally-inspired influence towards nature expressed symbolically in asymmetrical composition; and the artistic, based upon the principles of Modern art (45). The book provoked various responses, lauded by Jellicoe in his review printed in the March 1939 issue of *Architectural Review*, not so by W A Eden in his summary in the *Royal Institute of British Architects Journal*. The latter had an hidden agenda; a negative review of the work and discipline of landscape architecture (46). An example of Tunnard's work, used in the book, also appeared in *Landscape Design* in 1939. "Planning a Modern Garden" discussed garden-making around Bentley Wood, Halland (near Lewes), the house of the Modernist architect Serge Chermayeff. The article described the planting as:

"...atmospheric planting showing an architectural character; a free yet controlled scheme, related but in contrast to the formality of the building. It was a subjective and essentially pictorial approach which we eventually made." (47)

Tunnard believed planting was part of architecture, and as such the house extended into the garden, and the plants he preferred were "architectural", for example

Vinca major elegantissima, *Fatsia japonica*, *Phormium tenax* and Hostas. These became the basis of the ILA Basic Plant List (48) and "Tunnard laid down the basis of modern planting design for...generations of professional designers to the present day." (49).

Tunnard vigorously disparaged the state of garden design, but he was a voice crying in the wilderness and his words went unheeded. With historical perspective Tunnard's ideas themselves were not shocking (despite the first criticisms of Miss Jekyll since her death) but the Modern house was. At the first exhibition of work by the young garden designers of the ILA in June 1938, Tunnard's design for St Anne's Hill was given pride of place. But by then Tunnard had already left for a chair at the Harvard School of Landscape Design (50).

To categorise Tunnard in terms of his creativity is difficult. At first glance it would seem he was a True Innovator - his product was a garden form which had not been seen in Britain before, and he disseminated this new product message. Alternatively it could be argued he was a Skilled Imitator because he took ideas from abroad and adapted them to a British scenario. It is the conclusion of this thesis that Tunnard was, in fact, a True Innovator. He used past experiences - his travels, his knowledge of the Modern ethos, and his understanding of garden history, to which he added his individual Creative Process and the totality of "Self". The result was a new idea, a creation. He was the first to distil the English garden, blend it with Modern principles, and add the essence of architectural planting. This creation became an innovation at Bentley Wood where

it gained form. Tunnard then disseminated the product message through the architectural press and in *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*. However Tunnard's innovation is an example where the social environment was not conducive to product survival. The product emerged, but it did not establish in the inter-war years.

Almost as an epilogue, Mercer again addressed the concept of Modernism in the garden. In 1939 he asked nine "prominent landscape architects": J E Grant White, George Dillistone, Thomas Adams, Otto Valentien, Pietro Porcinai, Jean Charles Moreux, René Pechere and Garret Eckbo, for answers to three questions:

- "1. The criticism has been made that garden design has remained unaffected and unimproved by modern movements in design in architecture,etc. Is this so and is it, in your opinion, a good or a bad thing?
2. In what way does present-day garden design take into account changed social conditions and needs: e.g., the town dweller, flat-dweller, week-ender, etc.?
3. In what respect do you yourself think there is room for improvement in present-day garden design?" (51)

The replies did not always address the questions, but the comments were interesting and revealed some contrasting opinions. Pechere confirmed what has been established, namely that, in comparison with the transformation in architecture "the

art of gardening has not evolved in the same direction or at any rate has not evolved at anything like the same pace." (52). Dillistone was perhaps typical of the negative approach to the Modern garden:

"Such influence by modern movements in design in architecture as is apparent in the trend of garden design is purely a matter of detail and not of principle. There is indeed no logical reason for expecting any revolutionary changes to take place...To talk of a new "style" in gardens is merely absurd. Even in architecture, a change of style is merely a rearrangement of old forms in a different sequence."
(53)

However J E Grant White took a more positive approach and expressed a view similar to Tunnard, that plant selection and arrangement were a key to the Modern garden:

"The landscape architect of to-day finds the "functional" system particularly adaptable to garden planning and it is commonly applied by many garden designers with very satisfactory results...a considerable amount of experiment had been going on with the use of new plant material and good progress has been made in the development of a modern system of planning in which effects are obtained mainly by an informal grouping of trees and plants in a grass setting, aided where practicable by ornamental water." (54)

This would seem to suggest Modern gardens were common, when the evidence points to the contrary.

The replies suggest that the answer to Mercer's 1936 question: "Is it that no effort has been directed towards the adaptation of the garden to the new style of buildings" was, with the exception of Tunnard, an emphatic "No!". Nevertheless there was some common ground. Several of the commentators (e.g. Grant White, Dillistone, Valentien, and Eckbo) agreed that an essential feature of a garden was its provision of recreation, emotional release, and restfulness. This was a view expressed by Miss Jekyll in *The Garden* in 1900 (see p.115), but it is also perhaps the ultimate expression of Modernism in the garden. If the house was to be a "machine for living" then the garden was the "service area for relaxing". The British love of plants precluded the minimalist expression of this function, but experimentation with plant form and arrangement did occur, as demonstrated by Tunnard and Grant White. However this experimentation was untimely, in September 1939 Britain was once more plunged into war. The final section examines the fate of these new ideas in the "Brave New World" of the early post-war years.

Landscape Architecture in the 1940s and Early-1950s.

The second World war threw Britain into chaos for the second time in quarter of a century. The new Institute of Landscape Architects was kept alive through the war by Jellicoe and others, and extracts of the Wartime Journal were printed in

Fifty Years of Landscape Design (55). Britain emerged from the war bomb-scarred and in need of much rebuilding, and according to Jellicoe the conclusion to be drawn from four Government Reports: Barlow (1940), Uthwatt (1942), Beveridge (1942-43), and Scott (1942) "were obvious and spectacular, a new landscape profession was in the offing" (56). The passing of the 1946 New Towns Act heralded the creation of twenty New Towns through Britain which would involve landscape architects for the next quarter century (57). Several landscape architects who had trained or begun their careers between the wars emerged as crusaders of the new profession. The crusade took two principle directions: public sector landscape works and education, and after the war the:

"public image of the Institute was changed from a domestic garden society to one primarily concerned with the national landscape" (58)

Collens was of the opinion that the new profession could not have made the advances of the post-war years without the writings of Crowe, Colvin and Jellicoe which convinced other professionals that the landscape architect had much to offer in the rebuilding of Britain (59).

Jellicoe (1900-) was President of the ILA from 1939-1949 and encouraged the fledgling profession to adapt itself to a wide range of public commissions after the war (60). He was consultant landscape architect on Hemel Hempstead New Town and worked at Sandringham in 1947 (61).

Sylvia Crowe (1901-) was an early member of the Institute but not a founder (62). Immediately after the war she established a private practice and was President of the ILA between 1957 and 1959 (63). She worked as consultant landscape architecture on Basildon (1947) and Harlow (1948) New Towns, and acknowledged Jellicoe who "pushed work to me" (64). Other public works included the power stations at Trawsfynydd and Wylfa Head (65), and in the Fifties she wrote *Tomorrow's Landscape* (1956), *Garden Design* (1958) and *The Landscape of Power* (1958) (66).

Brenda Colvin (1897-1981), a founder member of the Institute was its President between 1951 and 1953. She wrote one of the first standard books on the modern profession, *Land and Landscape* (1947) and was responsible for the military town at Aldershot (67). Colvin completed 250 commissions between 1945 and 1968, many of them gardens (68).

Jellicoe noted that "the end of the '40s and the beginning of the '50s was a great period for the opening up of the profession as a whole" (69). In 1948 Industrial sponsorship resulted in two lectureships in landscape: Peter Youngman at London University and Brian Hackett at Durham (70), and in 1951 the Festival of Britain was held on the centenary of the Great Exhibition. The Festival was a series of separate exhibitions and the principle work of the landscape architects was "to act as horticultural advisors and to take charge of the design and construction of what has become known in Festival circles as "soft" landscape" (71). Frank Clark was appointed landscape architect to the project (72).

H F Clark (1902-1971) was born in Manila and after an education in Britain and a period of seven years wandering abroad trying his hand at a variety of jobs he returned to Britain in 1932 (73). He worked first with Percy Cane and then with Tunnard (74) and also helped Tunnard with *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* particularly the historical section, but his best work was done after the war (75). His love for the English Landscape Garden coloured all his work (76) and he published *England and the Renaissance Tradition* and *The English Landscape Garden* in 1945 and 1948 respectively (77). He was landscape consultant to Stevenage Development Corporation (78) and other work included landscapes for York University and new thermal power stations on the Forth Estuary (79), but his greatest opportunity was the Festival of Britain (80). Although the landscape architects Peter Shephard, his deputy Maria Shephard, and Peter Youngman were responsible for particular sections, the concourse area came under Clark's care (81). According to Jellicoe the garden of the Regatta Restaurant was the most memorable feature in this area, and had "faint echoes" of Burle Marx (82):

"The festival landscape, like the architecture, broke completely with the past, whose traditions had become increasingly emasculated during the period between the two world wars, and produced a wealth of new ideas, some of them from abroad, which have since been consolidated in a contemporary vernacular." (83)

Clark read the paper "Landscape Architecture in the Festival of Britain" to a General Meeting on 19 April 1951 (84). In this paper he recognised the short-

termism of exhibition landscaping - the present being important; and that the Festival was a townscape, "a city of exhibitions with a high density" (85). As a result the designed planted areas were concentrated, compact and Urban in character. Great care was taken in the choice and location of every plant and tree to ensure scale and proportion with the surroundings (86). In the same issue of the *Journal of the Institute of Landscape Architects*. Sheila Haywood's article "Planting Design at South Bank" noted that the planting of Clark and Shephard used groupings of foliage plants "designed as integral parts of the buildings" (87). This reflected Tunnard's approach to the planting around Bentley Wood, and Haywood observed that:

"The real importance of the planting lies in its coherence, its sense of one-ness and sympathy with the buildings which it so successfully sets off: its form, and, in the true meaning of a much over-worked word, its elegance." (88)

These comments are the genesis of Adams and Youngman's prophetic statement made in 1939:

"The garden of the future will need to be more free and flowing in its pattern, with less emphasis on its plan and more on the texture, forms and time elements of its plant groupings and on the relationship of these to the architecture of the house" (89)

The descriptions of Clark's work at the Festival indicate that he was an example of a True Innovator, a creative individual who (like Lutyens), took an existing product (Tunnard's Modern garden) and with the input of "Self" created a new idea. This creation became an innovation and was expressed at the Festival. The garden Clark created "broke completely with the past". It was of small scale, Urban in character, and used a wide range of species carefully arranged in close association with the architecture, as he himself observed:

"planting of...plant material you will also find unorthodox...we have used a very great number of different species of plants and you will find these if nothing else extremely interesting." (90)

However Jellicoe suggests that it was through his teaching that Clark made his deepest impression on his profession (90). He taught first at the University of Reading (1946-1957) and the University of Edinburgh (1957-1971) (92). Whilst at Edinburgh he was also President of the Institute between 1959 and 1961 (93). Jellicoe gave this eulogy to Clark:

"In retrospect one thinks of Frank Clark not so much as a practitioner, but rather as a born teacher who realised that without practical experience his power to teach would be incomplete." (94)

Therefore Britain emerged from the war in need of rebuilding. The emerging landscape architecture profession was perfectly positioned to take up the challenge

of public sector work, with much carried out by those who trained between the wars. In contrast to the Thirties the *Journal of the Institute of Landscape Architects* contained very little on gardens, and the books published predominantly concerned the landscape of Britain on a national scale. Several books were written but these were "by designers for designers and their immediate influence did not spread outside a small professional circle" (95).

The Festival of Britain was an opportunity to promote nationally the work of the landscape architect both to the public and to other professionals. Bisgrove (1990) notes that the "The Festival Hall was the centrepiece of the site crowded with lighthearted buildings were set among informal gardens" (96). These gardens were innovative for they took Modernism in the garden at a small scale.

This demonstrates that the social conditions which had not been conducive to Modernism in the pre-war years had changed, and a new product began to establish. More evidence for this was Turner's comment that *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* was often referred to by garden designers who trained in the 1950s as "the only one we had" (97). Another example of this new spirit extended to "the revival of taste in room plants" (98) which with the advent of central heating could be grown in the average home. *Indoor Plants and Gardens*, co-written by Clark also illustrated some of the planting schemes of the Festival buildings, and others from Scandinavia "where the Robinson/Jekyll tradition of foliage plants had been eagerly adopted and adapted to indoor planting to relieve long, severe winters" (99).

In summary, with the advent of the landscape architect and the acceptance of Modernism a new approach was taken to designing post-war Britain. Although for many the inter-war fashion remained, for example the third and revised edition of Taylor's *Garden Making by Example* was published in 1952, in the Festival of Britain at least, a new approach was extended to a garden scale. This was the first expression of a new garden form, but this new type of plant use in the garden had an impact for as Scott-James and Lancaster (1977) observed: "a new kind of garden which has come to suburbia since the war is the shrub garden, shrubs being the most important of all post-war plant trends" (100). An interesting complementary would be to examine Modernism in the post-second World war garden, and to follow the evolution of Clark's new style.

CONCLUSION.

This thesis has demonstrated how a new idea arises in the mind of the creative individual, and how it may become a fashion. The theoretical Matrix of Innovation was tested in establishing the evolution of the garden, and proved to work. Nonetheless it was discovered that the process of product evolution is a highly complex one. There is clearly scope for further research, particularly in refining the notion of the social environment and establishing a more extensive and elegant model to identify and explain the interaction of influences which affect artistic product development, perhaps using further analogies drawn with ecological succession.

The study of the Edwardian garden revealed that the changes in the garden were closely allied with changes in society as a whole, and in other art forms, for example architecture. The new product that emerged was particularly suited to the changed social environment. It established, evolved, and had a profound effect on the form and character of both country house and suburban gardens. By 1914 it had progressed through the four stages of product evolution and had become a fashion. Its success is all the more noteworthy considering the range of alternative and competing garden design products available to the garden-maker.

Although the vernacular Arts and Crafts garden was assimilated into suburbia, it was discovered that the amateur gardener was not well provided for in terms of garden design advice, and the garden was primarily regarded as a place to grow a

range of plants, rather than a work of art. This approach to garden-making helped to explain why the hypotheses put forward in the Quantitative Analysis were disproved. However the absence of a Hierarchy of Dissemination confirmed that the suburban and country house gardens evolved alongside one another. This provides strong evidence for the influential role played by the media in product evolution, a role that warrants further investigation. There is also scope for further research into the Edwardian garden, particularly in the patterns of plant use, and to discover if any evidence survives of actual Edwardian suburban gardens.

The inter-war years saw great socio-economic changes which affected many aspects of British life, and in a number of art forms the revolution of Modernism took place. However in contrast to the pre-war years garden design did not evolve alongside art forms such as architecture. The evidence demonstrated that throughout the period the fashion which had established by 1914 continued. In the country house garden the social environment was still beneficent, although the vernacular style was modified slightly to take account of changes in financial circumstances, and to grow many of the new tree and shrub species introduced by plant hunters.

In the millions of new owner-occupier suburban gardens the new social environment which arose was also conducive to an adaptation and adoption of the Arts and Crafts vernacular. This garden met all the new owner's needs: it permitted a display of conformity to meet expected suburban values and thus created a suburban garden character; it reflected the perceived benefits of rural

living; and it allowed the gardener to display individualism in the selection of features and ornament, and produced a diverse garden form.

Thus the fashionable product survived the turmoil of war and continued to dominate British garden-making. However this strangle-hold had a detrimental effect, for consumer demand prevented the establishment of new garden design ideas. Throughout the Twenties and into the late-Thirties no innovative product message was disseminated. It was not until the eve of the second World war that Tunnard "shockingly" introduced the Modern garden. His product was innovative, but the social environment was not conducive to its establishment, and the timing was also unfortunate. Therefore between the wars there was development in the number of gardens made, but no innovation until the last-minute, brief appearance of Tunnard. However the seed was sown, and as Britain emerged from the war into the "brave new world", Modernism did find expression in the garden, in the innovative designs of Clark for the Festival of Britain.

This thesis has answered some questions, and raised many more. Two further avenues of research have been identified, but in terms of the inter-war garden reference has been made to the extensive interest in the cultivation of new plant introductions and hybrids. An in-depth study of the use of these would help explain more fully the form and character of the garden, and perhaps also help to explain why the vernacular garden, with its emphasis on hardy plants remained so dominant. A second area of further research would be a detailed examination of Modernism in the garden, beginning with the innovations of Tunnard and Clark.

From the evidence uncovered in this study, it is suggested that this would reveal the development of a new style within the British garden.

NOTES.

CHAPTER 1.

Methodology.

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APPENDIX I.

Interviews with Innovative Garden-Makers.

The interviewees to whom I am indebted to for their kindness in taking time to talk to me and their enthusiasm in answering my questions are:

Mr Adrian Bloom.

Mr Alan Bloom.

Mr John Brookes.

Dame Sylvia Crowe.

Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe.

Mr Christopher Lloyd.

Mrs Rosemary Verey.

(Mrs Beth Chatto, Mrs Penelope Hobhouse, and Mr Graham Stuart Thomas were also approached but were unable to meet my request for an interview.)

The interviews were carried out at the homes of the interviewees between March 1993 and February 1994 and took the form of extended conversations based on a set of questions. The interviewees were encouraged to expound their views within this loose framework. Whilst the interviewer attempted to "steer" the conversations, occasionally questions were passed over and/or the interviewer deviated from the question. The interviews were recorded on to tape. Unfortunately, neither the funds nor the time were available for transcribing the tapes, so only the relevant comments were taken down.

The Set of Questions asked of Each Interviewee.

As a recognised innovator, what or who influenced you?

Have these influences changed markedly over time?

How did/do your ideas come about?

Were there things you did not like which prompted you to innovate to change things?

What are your aims in disseminating your knowledge?

What do you see as your greatest impact on the British garden?

Have you had ideas which were not popularly received? If so, what were they and why do you think they were unpopular?

How do you perceive the British garden today, and how do you see as its future?

How do you think the average gardener is influenced?

How important do you think the author is in influencing/developing gardening attitudes within the general gardening public?

Extra Questions Asked of Jellicoe and Crowe.

Both Jellicoe and Crowe practised during the inter-war period, and Jellicoe is the sole- surviving founder member of the ILA. Therefore both were asked for their views on a range of inter-war garden-making topics:

Whom do you consider the most **innovative** garden designers this century?

Whom do you consider the most **influential** garden designers this century?

Who and what influenced **you** and your design ideas during the inter-war years?

How did professional designers of gardens and landscapes respond to Modernism?

What existing (i.e pre-1914) fashions in garden design and contents continued into the Twenties and Thirties?

APPENDIX II.

Results and Conclusions of the Quantitative Periodical Analysis.

Indices Analysis.

Results.

The results of the analysis are presented in Table 3 (see p.281). The figures are percentages of the total number of entries in each index or cumulative contents page entries.

Key:

Periodicals.

- A. *Country Life.*
- B. *The Garden.*
- C. *Gardening Illustrated.*
- D. *The Gardeners' Chronicle.*
- E. *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society.*
- F. *The Gardener.*

Horticultural Topics.

- 1. Hardy and Tender Ornamental Plant and Cultivation,

2. Glasshouse Cultivation, both Ornamental and Productive.
3. Fruit Cultivation and Production.
4. Vegetable Cultivation and Production.
5. Pests and Diseases.
6. Notes from Societies.
7. Horticulture from Abroad.
8. Gardens, Garden Features, and Garden Design.

The table of results shows that ornamental horticulture dominated the general horticultural press (*The Garden*, *Gardening Illustrated*, and *The Gardener*). The advice on fruit and vegetable cultivation was surprisingly low across the board. Furthermore the contents of the individual periodicals remained relatively constant over the years, although emphasis placed on the topics differed between publications.

With the exception of the non-horticultural *Country Life*, the initial "Gardens, Garden Features and Garden Design" percentages were low. Furthermore they did not increase over time as had been anticipated. The results suggest the first hypothesis is incorrect. The high figures for *Country Life* are a result of regular "Gardens Old and New" series and a low overall horticultural contents.

Table 3: Percentage Results for Indices Analysis.

	<u>01.</u>	<u>02.</u>	<u>03.</u>	<u>04.</u>	<u>05.</u>	<u>06.</u>	<u>07.</u>	<u>08.</u>
<u>1900</u>								
A.	36.0	4.2	3.1	0.4	1.3	2.0	0.2	18.3
B.	45.9	10.3	6.5	2.5	1.8	7.2	3.7	4.1
C.	45.2	11.5	13.7	10.1	7.3	0.1	0.2	2.2
D.	17.8	7.2	6.9	3.1	3.3	14.4	7.0	2.0
E.	19.6	0.0	10.7	14.3	12.5	8.9	0.0	0.0
F.	37.4	10.7	6.8	7.2	4.2	6.6	0.7	3.4
<u>1903</u>								
A.	42.2	3.6	3.6	0.1	1.1	0.4	1.8	21.9
B.	47.7	8.0	7.5	7.5	1.7	7.6	1.9	4.4
C.	45.6	13.2	11.6	9.6	7.8	0.4	0.3	2.1
D.	17.3	6.2	5.2	3.5	2.9	16.6	4.5	2.6
E.	16.3	2.0	4.1	0.0	10.2	2.0	14.3	0.0
F.	44.2	8.3	7.0	6.8	7.9	0.1	0.4	4.8
<u>1914</u>								
A.	48.3	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.0	1.7	1.7	25.0
B.	62.3	7.5	4.7	3.5	3.0	0.6	0.8	5.6
C.								
D.	13.9	4.8	4.9	2.1	4.8	16.9	7.3	1.7
E.	23.2	7.1	1.8	10.7	10.7	7.1	1.8	0.0
F.								
<u>1919</u>								
A.								
B.	47.2	5.1	10.6	10.1	2.8	4.3	2.0	3.5
C.								
D.	18.4	6.5	5.5	3.6	5.6	14.9	4.5	0.7
E.	13.9	1.5	10.8	18.5	4.6	0.0	0.0	7.7
F.								

At an individual level the relatively high figures for details about Horticultural Societies in *The Gardener's Chronicle* reflected its position as voice of the professional industry. The *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* provided the most balanced contents on the craft of horticulture, whilst the focus on ornamental plants by *The Garden* and *Gardening Illustrated* corresponds with their combined drive to promote the hardy plant use.

The initial results for "Gardens, Garden Features and Garden Design" were disappointing. Since the data extraction process was very time consuming and any statistical conclusions based upon so small an amount of data would be unrepresentative, it was decided after consultation to abandon the analysis. The table looks as it does because the studies were made library-by-library, rather than year-by-year, and the periodicals are unevenly distributed around the various Libraries.

Conclusion.

The results indicate that the publishers did not consider it necessary to disseminate large amounts of advice about "Gardens, Garden Features, and Garden Design". Rather, that they saw their primary role as disseminating advice on the craft of horticulture, in particular ornamental gardening, as the percentages for "Hardy and Tender Ornamental Plant and Cultivation" demonstrate. This remains the case today as Mr John Brookes observed in interview (see p.52). It also links with the suggestion that the gardener saw the garden as a place to grow a range of plants

rather than a designed work of art. This cultivation-orientated approach to garden-making was apparent in several of the pre-war monographs examined (see pp.129-130), and is backed up by the fact that the "Gardens, Garden Features, and Garden Design" percentages remained continually low, even though gardening became more popular. It is suggested that the periodicals published what they considered their readers wanted in order to maintain reader numbers. That is to say that dissemination is selective (a suggestion made when discussing the media in terms of the Matrix of Innovation, see pp.50-51). Therefore periodicals had (and have) a strong impact on the success of a new product.

The qualitative analysis confirmed that garden design and garden-making suggestions were not common in the Edwardian media. To reflect the ornamental plant-orientated approach. An interesting study would be to follow the progress of new introductions and/or hybrids. These have a definite introduction date, and a hypothesis could be constructed to monitor their progress through the periodicals using a keyword system (latin name), and the earliest date at which they appeared in the various publications. Such a hypothesis would indicate whether the dissemination of plant introductions behaved in a similar way to garden design innovations, but would be more specific. Where and when the plant names occurred could indicate patterns in horticulture rather than garden design, and could be used to re-test the Hierarchy of Dissemination theory.

Hierarchy of Dissemination.

Results and Conclusion.

Keyword monitoring did not support the hypothesis that a hierarchy existed. A wide range of the keywords were found in all the periodicals from 1900 onward. However the fact that a hierarchy did not exist confirms the suggestion made in the text that the country house garden and the suburban garden both evolved in the same direction at the same time, or that the key word features were so long established that dissemination through the hierarchy was complete by the start of the period.

APPENDIX III.

Inter-War Municipal House and Garden.

Municipal Housing Development.

The one area of Government policy which continued throughout the inter-war period with few hiccups was housing policy. The large scale problems of slums continued and neither philanthropy nor private initiative could resolve them. The task required Government money. In July 1917 the War Cabinet decided to give substantial financial backing to those local authorities which were prepared, at the end of the war, to carry out a programme of housing for the working classes approved by the Local Government Board. This required a National Housing Policy (1). The Tudor Walters Committee was set up to investigate the housing requirements of "ordinary people" and how these were to be best met. Unwin was very influential on the Committee and many of his avocations regarding such things as housing density, layout and design were implemented. The Report published in 1918, stated that in England and Wales there was a shortage of between 300,000 and 400,000 houses, apart from any needed for slum clearance. The Report was implemented through the "Homes for Heroes" campaign, legislated in the 1919 Housing Act. The Act was the basis for the majority of inter-war housing. The Garden City Movement found a new impetus with the push to provide "Homes fit for Heroes". By 1919 the plans for the second Garden City at Welwyn were well under way, Letchworth was the first in 1903 (2).

In 1920 The Ministry of Health published a pattern book of plans and elevations with full working drawings and quantities. These recommendations were an improvement on the nineteenth century housing standards and became the image and reality of social aspirations of the ordinary person of the time (3). The "Addison Scheme" as it was known provided the subsidies. However it proved too expensive and was stopped in 1921. After a temporary halt a fresh system of Government aid was established under the 1923 Housing Act, and subsidies continued until 1933. Throughout the inter-war period housing estates were built by municipalities both with and without State aid (4).

The character of inter-war municipal suburbia had a long and diverse ancestry, but the theme was primarily Unwin's. It derived, by way of Gretna Green, Letchworth and New Earswick, from Cadbury's experiments at Bournville, the writings of Camillo Sitte, the baroque layouts of Versailles and Karlsruhe, the picturesque architecture of Voysey, Shaw, Goodwin and Bash, the experimental speculation of Jonathan Carr, the utopias of Ebenezer Howard and James Silk Buckingham, the paternal housing of certain industrialists, the philanthropy of Lord Shaftesbury, the studies of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, the labours of sanitary reformers, the journalism of *Illustrated Carpenter and Builder*, and the politically-inspired self-help of the land societies (5). Two thirds of the plans shown in the *Housing Manual* and the Ministry of Health pattern book were for semi-detached housing. They provided a ready solution to the problems of access to the garden, coal shed, back door and dust bin. The Council style of the 1920s was the neo-Georgian: ordered and regular with a desire for minimum

maintenance. There was little the tenant could do to personalise the house, even if they had the money. The theme had faults of landscaping, such as the emphasis on avenue planting of small trees; lack of contrast due to the absence of tall buildings or forest trees; and dubious social implications caused by its failure to consider the influence of housing patterns on social relationships (6).

The decent, inexpensive homes, arranged with an eye to architectural effect, laid out at a density of 12 per acre, sufficient schools, churches and shops did not constitute a well planned estate, as Unwin would have us believe. Municipal suburbia lacked the neighbourliness that was present in the unhealthy, squalid slums (7). *The Design of Suburbia* stated:

"The tedium of appearance was municipal suburbia's most obvious fault, but it was not its only failing. The council estate not only looked dull, it was a dull place to live...Its inhabitants tended to keep themselves to themselves. It was an isolated, unnatural society, established on the edge of town, made up of people chosen by accident of need and administrative convenience, and formed, not only of a single social class, but often a single age group. The young family was catered for ...The elderly and the children were often forgotten. The nuclear, rather than the extended family became the centre of society." (8)

The Municipal Suburban Garden.

No contemporary source material was discovered which specifically targeted the Municipal house garden. The most detailed commentary was from Edwards (1981). The relatively low density housing advocated by the Tudor Walters Report was adopted partly to ensure every house had a garden. Despite the emphasis placed on the relationship between house and garden, Municipal tenants had neither the disposable income nor the psychological inclination to recreate the rural idyll in the suburb. The little information available suggests a different approach (9). The front garden had become an inevitable feature of housing layout by the 1920s. It consisted of a tiny patch of grass, paths to front and back doors, one or two beds of roses or snap dragons and a privet hedge to protect it from wandering dogs or children and to divide it from its neighbours. Each curtilage was regarded as an island entire to itself. The residents' attitude was that the garden was their own. Beyond this was the Council's responsibility. They neither saw nor cared that their garden was part of a larger whole which included the road, the pavement, verges, other houses etc. (10). The back gardens were divided by fences of wooden posts and galvanized steel wire. These gardens did not consist simply of lawns, herbaceous borders and cabbage patches. They were areas where washing was hung out to dry, where the tenant could pursue hobbies which were out of place indoors. They might contain greenhouses, sheds for use as workshops or storage, cotes for pigeons etc. Individually such gardens could be kept tidy: collectively they were a mess. The fences which separated them defined their boundaries, but they did not give privacy to the tenant nor did they form a screen to hide the

muddle next door. It would seem therefore there was no pressure to conform to a stylised type of gardening. Unless the dweller was keen, the garden was primarily utilitarian, a true room outdoors (11).

For the gardening enthusiast who lived in Municipal housing and read the amateur horticultural press, no distinction was made between the tenant and owner-occupier garden. The same information was available to all. It would be reasonable to assume therefore that the Municipal suburban garden of a keen gardener may have appeared similar to that of his owner-occupier counterpart. The difference was that the symbolism of the speculator-built suburban garden was lost, it was inappropriate for both the occupier and the site.

NOTES.

01. Edwards, A M. (1981). *The Design of Suburbia, A Critical Study in Environmental History*. Pembrige Press, London. pp.94-95.
Taylor, A J P., (1970). *English History 1914-1945*. Pelican Books, London.
02. op.cit. Edwards. p.94.
Thorns, D C. (1972). *Suburbia*. MacGibbons & Kee, London. pp.17-18.
Scoffham, E R. (1984). *The Shape of British Housing*. Godwin, London. p.10.
Barrett, H. & Phillips, J. (1987). *Suburban Style, The British Home 1840-1960*. Macdonald Orbis, London. pp.19-20 & 126-127.

03. Constantine, S. (1983). *Social Conditions in Britain 1919-1939*. Methuen, London. p.24.
op.cit. Edwards. p.94.
04. op.cit. Edwards. p.94.
05. ibid. p.103.
06. ibid. pp.103-104.
07. ibid. p.111.
08. ibid. pp.110-111.
09. op.cit. Edwards. p.106.
10. ibid. pp.107-109.
11. ibid. pp.114-115.

APPENDIX IV.

Supplementary Periodical Review & Additional Monograph Commentary.

In addition to the publications referred to in the text an additional ten periodicals were examined as part of the Supplementary Periodical Review, and a variety of monographs were reviewed to provide a more complete picture of the publications available to the gardener. The following is a brief *resume* of these publications.

Supplementary Periodicals.

My Garden, "An Intimate Magazine for Garden Lovers" first appeared in January 1934. Edited and owned by Theo A Stephens, it was deliberately pocket-sized, and designed to be intimate, simple and friendly. There were articles by distinguished writers including Beverley Nichols, Sir A F Hort, Marian Cran, Sir William Lawrence, Eleanour S Rohde, Vita Sackville-West and Graham Stuart Thomas. Stephens described the monthly as a "*de luxe* production", influenced by Eden Phillpott's book of the same title (1), with the aim "...to interest real garden lovers by talking about gardens in all their aspects.", to fill a market niche between "...the several excellent weekly publications and the annual Journal of The Royal Horticultural Society." (2).

It was distinctly different, catering for the enthusiastic, genteel gardener with a strong interest in plants. The friendly, whimsical but informative narrative style

hit a note - the first month's edition sold 45 000 copies, a circulation still maintained in 1934. There was little concerning garden design and layout. "In Search of Gardens" by Marguerite James was a 1934 series of very brief garden descriptions. In 1938 two articles by G C Taylor (the Gardening Editor of *Country Life*), "Formal Gardening" and "Town Gardening" discussed the formal buffer zone between architecture and nature, and the town garden as an outside room to be treated formally but simply (3). *My Garden* met its aim of being informative and friendly, but failed to discuss the garden in all its aspects, by focusing mainly on ornamental plants.

Similar in format to the amateur horticultural press *The Smallholder*, "*A Journal for the Farmer, Gardener and Poultry-keeper*" took a purely cultivation approach. It was concerned solely with practical advice on all aspects of horticultural crop production and animal husbandry. It seemed to target the self-sufficiency type, not the suburban gardener.

The remaining eight titles were "country" magazines, examined in with the expectation that they would have a gardening content similar to *Country Life*. *House and Garden* first appeared in November 1920 and was published monthly at a cost of one shilling. It was incorporated into *Vogue* in April 1924 after which the garden content was dropped. Pre-merger the contents primarily consisted of expensive and up-market interiors, antiques, architectural plans and photographs of houses. The regular horticultural contents comprised "The Gardeners Calender" and a readers' information service. There was an occasional special feature, for

example: "On Planting the Herbaceous Border" (4) and on planning a small rock and water garden (5).

The Ideal Home also first appeared 1920, was a monthly which cost one shilling. The contents were dominated by: houses, domestic architecture, interiors, and other aspects of running a home - cookery, the nursery, pets, cars, etc. The garden content was small. Besides "The Gardeners Diary", articles primarily concerned plants and planting and basic gardening techniques. By 1930 Richard Sudell had a regular feature on gardening in general expanding by 1939 to "What to do in Your Garden in (Month)".

The Country Illustrated, appeared monthly and cost two shillings and sixpence. It was agriculturally-orientated but contained features on motor cars, motorbicycles, and yachting in 1921. By 1930 it had become more diverse and included internal furnishings, drapery and other domestic topics. It was a retail guide, an approach it continued to take up to 1939, by which time the price had dropped to one shilling. There was no gardening content.

Town and Country began in 1923 also costing two shillings and sixpence monthly. It was similar to *Country Illustrated* with many high quality pictures. But it focused on houses, their architecture, interiors, furnishings and decoration. Farming, motor vehicles and antiques made an appearance and very occasionally there was an article on gardens. A two-page spread of pictures of work of The Lakeland Nurseries of Mawson (6), of W J Jarman (7) and of Whitelegg (8). By

1927 it had included sporting activities.

Town and Country Life commenced in 1927 and became *Town and Country Illustrated* in 1932 with no change in format. A monthly at one shilling and sixpence it was similar in production quality to the others, and contained no horticultural articles. In 1927 it focused on other forms of recreation: a holiday guide to Britain and abroad, a screen and stage guide and critic. It also acted as a guide to the "chosen residential areas" of towns and cities. By 1932 it had become fortnightly and included commentary on many crafts and industries. It seemed to have been a check list for the aspiring middle classes with recently acquired money.

Town and Countryside became *Town and Country Review* in 1933. Published fortnightly it cost one shilling and three pence. The format of many small articles and many photographs was reminiscent of *Country Life*. It focused on industry and commerce rather than houses and interiors, and had no horticultural content.

Additional Monographs.

The inter-war amateur gardener had access to a wide range of horticultural information. For example *Amateur Gardening month by month* (9), *The Easy Gardening Book* (10), *The Gardener's Handbook* (11). Gardening encyclopedias were another favourite with such titles as *Modern Garden Craft* (12) *The Popular Encyclopedia of Gardening* edited by H H Thomas (13), *The Gardener's Assistant*

(14), *The Complete Book of Gardening* (15) and *Everyman's Encyclopedia of Gardening* (16).

Another group were those books which recalled personal gardening experiences. Probably the best known of these in the inter-war period was *Down the Garden Path* by Beverley Nichols (17). This ran to seven editions by November in its first year of publication. Nichols, an author, bought a cottage with a derelict garden which he proceeded to renovate and alter. The book is an amusing diary of his exploits. A gifted *raconteur*, the light style makes for easy and enjoyable reading. Its popularity suggests it must have had at least some appeal and influence, if only to encourage by sharing his successes, misfortunes and determination to strive for improvement - things all gardeners have in common. Nichols' subsequent books chronicling his successes and failures: *A Thatched Roof* (18) and *Village in a Valley* (19) did not achieve the same success.

The most prolific author of anecdotal horticulture was Marion Cran (20). She wrote extensively before the war and during the inter-war years about her gardens in Britain and abroad. Anecdotal horticulture was fostered by *The Gardener's Companion* (21) edited by Miles Hadfield. It is best described by its subtitle: "The Week-End Book of Garden History, Literature, Botany, Humours, Tasks and Enjoyment." It covered all these and with good humour and with great interest. Having begun with Stephens it is appropriate to finish with him. *My Garden's Good-Night* (22) contained a collection of pieces from Theo Stephens' periodical, *My Garden* which ceased publication the same year. The articles are almost poetic

in places, praising the garden in all its attributes.

NOTES.

01. *My Garden*. Vol.1 No.1, January 1934. p.9.
02. *ibid.* p.11.
03. *ibid.* Vol 15 No.11, November 1938. pp.348 & 357-360.
ibid. Vol.15 No.12, December 1938. pp.489-492 & 501-503.
04. *House and Garden*. Vol.5 No.1, January 1923. pp.16-17 & 40.
05. *ibid.* Vol.1 No.4, February 1921. pp.38-39 & 60.
06. *Town and Country*. Vol.1 No.4, August 1923. pp.35-36.
07. *ibid.* Vol.1 No.5, September 1923. pp.133-136.
08. *ibid.* Vol.2 No.1, October 1923. pp.30-31.
09. Sanders, T.W. (1920). *Amateur Gardening Month by Month*. Collingridge, London.
10. Brown, E.T. (1927). *The Easy Gardening Book*. Stanley Paul, London.
11. Holme, T.C. & Hay, R.E. (1936). *The Gardener's Handbook*. Country Life, London.
12. ed. Cobb, A.J. (3 Vols. 1936). *Modern Garden Craft*. The Gresham Publishing Co. Ltd., London.
13. ed. Thomas, H.H. (1933). *The Popular Encyclopedia of Gardening*. The Waverley Book Co. Ltd., London.
14. ed. Watson, W. (6 Vols. Revised 4th edit. 1925). *The Gardener's Assistant*. The Gresham Publishing Co. Ltd., London.

15. Coutts, J. (1930). *The Complete Book of Gardening*. Ward, Lock & Co. Ltd., London.
16. Wright, W.P. (1933). *Everyman's Encyclopedia of Gardening*. J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd, London.
17. Nichols, B. (1932). *Down the Garden Path*. Jonathan Cape, London.
18. Nichols, B. (1933). *A Thatched Roof*. Jonathan Cape, London.
19. Nichols, B. (1934). *A Village in a Valley*. Jonathan Cape, London.
20. Cran, M. (1922). *The Garden of Experience*. Jenkins, London.
Cran, M. (1925) *Garden Talks*. Methuen, London.
Cran, M. (1926) *Gardens of Good Hope*. Jenkins, London.
Cran, M. (1928). *The Joy of the Ground*. Jenkins, London.
Cran, M. (1933). *I Know a Garden*. Jenkins, London.
Cran, M. (1934). *The Squabbling Garden*. Jenkins, London.
21. ed. Hadfield, M. (1936). *The Gardener's Companion*. J M Dent & Sons Ltd., London.
22. Stephens, T.A. (1939). *My Garden's Good-Night*. My Garden, London.

APPENDIX V.

Garden-Making by Nursery Companies.

The following is a list of Nurseries which, between the wars offered a design service. It was produced from contemporary advertisements, Chelsea Show Catalogues, and the catalogue of the 1928 International Exhibition of Garden Design Catalogue.

G Bunyard & Co.	W H Gaze & Son
J Carter & Co.	Knap Hill Nursery
J Cheal & Sons Ltd.	J Pulham & Sons
W Cutbush & Sons	R Wallace & Co.
Dartington Hall Ltd.	J Waterer & Son & Crisp
E Dixon	G Whitelegg & Co.
C Elliot Ltd.	W Wood & Son Ltd.

The aim of this study was to examine the catalogues and brochures in which Nursery Companies promoted their garden-making services. Using the book *Aslib Directory of Information Sources in the U K* a search was made for Institutions and Libraries likely to hold an archive of Nursery Catalogues. The following were identified:

Bath University Library.

British Architectural Library.

British Cement Association.

British Library (Science Reference & Information Service).

Country Life Picture Library.

Garden History Society Library (at Bath University).

The Landscape Institute Library.

The Royal Horticultural Society Lindley Library

Linnaean Society of London.

Museum of Garden History.

National Register of Archives.

Reading University Library.

Royal Botanic Gardens Edinburgh.

University Botanic Gardens Cambridge.

Westminster Library.

Writtle College.

Kew Library.

Landscape Research Group.

Science Reference Library.

(The booksellers Lloyds of Kew.)

With the exception of the Lindley Library, the replies received were negative.

Those companies still in business were also contacted to enquire whether company archives survived:

J Carter & Co.

J Waterer & Son & Crisp

Knap Hill Nursery

G Whitelegg & Co.

Unfortunately the response was again negative: either no archive had been established, it had been lost during mergers and take-overs, or had been destroyed in the second World war.

The Lindley Library archive was examined, but the collection is patchy and primarily contains plant catalogues. The following is a summary of the information which was discovered:

G Bunyard & Co. of Maidstone.

Neither design catalogues nor design services were mentioned, but the company exhibited gardens at Chelsea.

J Carter & Co. of Raynes Park, London.

In 1915 and 1917 a page in their seed and bulb catalogue advertised a design and construction service. The company specialised in Japanese landscape gardening, but it also built water gardens, formal gardens, rock gardens, wild gardens and ornamental gardens. The same list appeared in 1921 with the addition of alpine gardens.

A 1922 brochure from the landscape gardening department gave examples of designs and estimates. Pictures show two pools, a terrace and an herbaceous border recently constructed and planted for the Duchess of Marlborough.

J Cheal & Sons Ltd. of Crawley.

Specialising in Roses, Dahlias, Fruit, Ornamental Trees and Shrubs and Hardy Flowers, a landscape gardening and garden architecture leaflet was advertised in 1927 and 1929 in other catalogues, but no example was discovered. The Rose catalogue for 1927, 1929 and 1931 offered designs for rose gardens and colour schemes.

Dartington Hall Ltd. of Totnes.

The extensive catalogue of 1935 was 224pp. and cost two shillings. In addition to plants it advertised many sundries such as furniture and woodwork. In the folder a separate leaflet from the Gardens Department titled "What a Garden Should Really Be" contained pictures of woodland, formal, sunk, rose, and wall gardens. It also contained a specimen of their design product: a report, a sketch plan, a garden layout, and a planting plan. The features shown are all Edwardian in origin.

E Dixon of Putney.

A leaflet with no date announced that Dixon personally designed and supervised the construction of any contract. Dixon stated that the ideal garden should have appropriateness in appearance and interest on an intimate scale, yet should be low maintenance. He gave photographic examples of his designs for rock gardens, dry wall gardens and rectangular sunk gardens.

W H Gaze & Son.

"The Gazeway" was a house and garden in Surbiton (London) which had been renovated and decorated by Gaze. It boasted 9 acres of demonstration gardens. Exact dating was not possible but it appeared to date from about 1922.

A well-illustrated brochure of Gazeway was used to advertise the design service. The show gardens were a perfect stereotype of all that was popular in all gardens. Photographs showed a lawn with a rill at the lower end of which was pool, rock garden and water garden, a topiary garden, a sunk octagonal rose garden, a double herbaceous border, treillage, pergola, crazy paving, a spring garden for a small site and much stonework - Japanese lanterns, bird baths, sun dials, well heads, sculpture, seats and urns.

Knap Hill Nursery of Woking.

Whilst specialising in azaleas and rhododendrons, the company also sold lilies, irises, bulbs and herbaceous plants. The spring 1932 catalogue announced:

"We have the pleasure of stating that the services of Mr. Percy S Cane, the well-known garden architect, have been secured to give advice on all matters connected with the planning and making of gardens and estates."

W Cutbush & Sons of Barnet and Highgate.

The catalogue offered a range of plant material - herbaceous, alpine, bulbs, fruit trees, roses and topiary. The only early reference to a design service were banners at the top of the page in their plant catalogue which advertised construction and planting of rose and rock gardens. In the 1930s a leaflet advertising their "Garden Construction" offered to make and plant bulb, rock, bog, rose, Japanese, formal, shrub gardens, and herbaceous borders.

Sylvia Crowe worked in the design office throughout the inter-war years, and by the spring of 1937 their catalogue boasted that they executed over 100 contracts annually. The number had risen to over 200 in the spring catalogue of 1939 in which they also stated their membership of the Institute of Landscape Architects. Additions to their product range were tennis courts and swimming pools.

J Pulham & Sons of Bishops Stortford.

Only one undated leaflet was discovered. Famed for their imitation stone, Pulhamite, the company specialised in constructing garden ornaments as well as gardens of various types: Japanese, Old English, Dutch, Italian, Rock and Water, Alpine, Bog gardens, Lakes, Streams and Waterfalls. A few photographs of contemporary commissions showed large gardens with various combinations of the above. Pulham were a company where garden-making seemed to dominate the business, particularly in the realm of garden ornament.

R Wallace & Co. of Colchester and later Tunbridge Wells.

Advertisements for their Garden Design service were found in their other catalogues from 1919. Throughout the inter-war period Wallace used the policy of personal site visits rather than producing promotional literature.

G Whitelegg & Co. of Knockholt and later Seven Oaks.

In 1924 reference was made to their design and construction service for formal gardens. The types of garden features offered were the same as their competitors and included: rose garden, pergola, herbaceous border, terracing, water garden, pool, iris garden and dry wall. Landscape gardening (presumably informal) was also available. The same features were on offer in 1937, with the addition of swimming pools and tennis courts.

J Waterer & Son & Crisp of Bagshot and Twyford.

In 1919 Waterer's offered "Planting for immediate effect" and "Estate improvement, landscape gardening and alteration, rock and wall gardens". By 1931/32 the range had expanded to include rose, iris, wild and bog gardens, and at about this date a landscape catalogue was published giving examples of these types of gardens as well as herbaceous borders, shrub gardens and topiary.

By 1935 it was possible to buy a designed herbaceous border at 3 shillings *per* square yard. And shrub borders at 2 shillings and sixpence, three shillings, and sixpence or 5 shillings *per* shrub, depending on plant size of shrub.

C Elliot of Stevenage.

An Alpine plant specialist, Elliot stated in the 1937/8 catalogue that:

"Landscape Gardening is an important branch of our business. For the last 25 years we have specialised in building rock gardens and in general garden design."

W Wood & Son Ltd. of Taplow.

Wood was another company where the plant business was secondary to horticultural sundries: accessories, maintenance equipment, fencing, furniture, buildings and

glasshouses, and design service. The brochures were large and well produced, a separate one for each aspect of the business. Wood offered a complete package: design, materials, plants and installation. The gardens illustrated were large and varied insignificantly between 1926 and 1935. All contained the same collection of Edwardian features. Wood also constructed the Italianate garden at Ditchley Park designed by Jellicoe for the Trees.

APPENDIX VI.
International Exhibition of Garden Design
and Conference on Garden Planning
1928.

The following is a brief summary of the Exhibition based on details from the official Catalogue.

Section 1. A Retrospective Historical Section 1500-1850.

A selection of pictures, drawings, engravings, photographs and plans illustrating the development of gardens in England between 1500-1850, together with sections illustrating examples from Australia, Canada, South Africa, France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, and United States of America.

Section 2. Garden Planning for Town and Country, British and Dominion, and Foreign.

A collection of photographs showing the work of British garden designers and a selection from the same countries as above.

Section 3. Sculpture for Gardens and its Setting.

A display of sculptural works for sale.

Section 4. Public Parks and Gardens.

Examples of Public Parks and Gardens from 31 urban areas.

Section 5. An Exhibition of Garden Ornaments.

A selection of garden ornaments, statuary, summerhouses, garden furniture, pavilions, seating, treillage, sundials, bird baths etc.

The catalogue listed the photographs and plans exhibited by the 54 British companies and individuals in Section 2. Amongst the exhibitors there were Nursery Companies: J Cheal & Sons, Ltd., The Lakeland Nurseries, Ltd. (T H Mawson), Bakers, R Wallace & Co. Ltd.; well-respected designers: Madaline Agar, Sir Reginald Blomfield, Stanley V Hart, Sir Edwin Lutyens, E P Mawson, Milner White & Son, Romaine-Walker & Jenkins; and those at the outset of their career: Percy Cane, Brenda Colvin, Clough Williams-Ellis, Geoffrey Jellicoe and Russell Page.

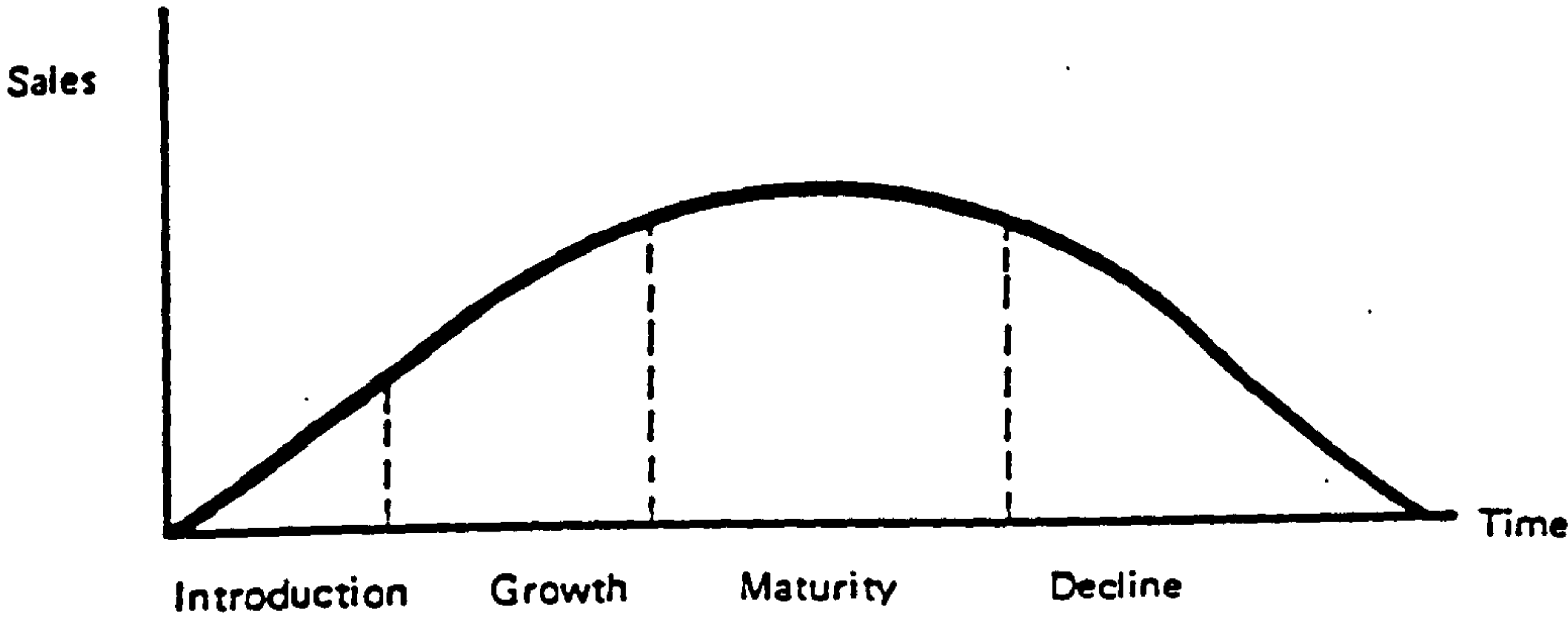
The Catalogue descriptions were brief. The list of exhibits by Ernest Cheal of J Cheal & Sons, Ltd. was typical and provides a fairly comprehensive list of the garden features commonly use by other exhibitors.

1. Grass Terrace Walk.
2. Lily Pool in Wild Garden.



3. Dutch Topiary Garden.
4. Grass Terrace and Garden House.
5. Formal Flower Garden.
6. Flower Garden and Canal.
7. Artificial Rock and Water.
8. Foxwarren Park.
9. Rose Garden and Enclosed Lawn.
10. Water Garden and Pergola.
11. Terrace Garden.
12. Terrace and Herbaceous Border.
13. Artificial Rock and Water.
14. Sunk Garden and Herbaceous Border.
15. Sunk Garden and Lily Pool.
16. Grass Glade in Wild Garden.
17. Rose Garden and Lily Pool.
18. Pergola in Sunk Garden.
19. Enclosed Water Garden.
20. Formal Terrace Garden.
21. Yew Hedges and Flower Garden.

Fig. 6.1: The 'Typical' Product Life Cycle



1. The Product Life Cycle

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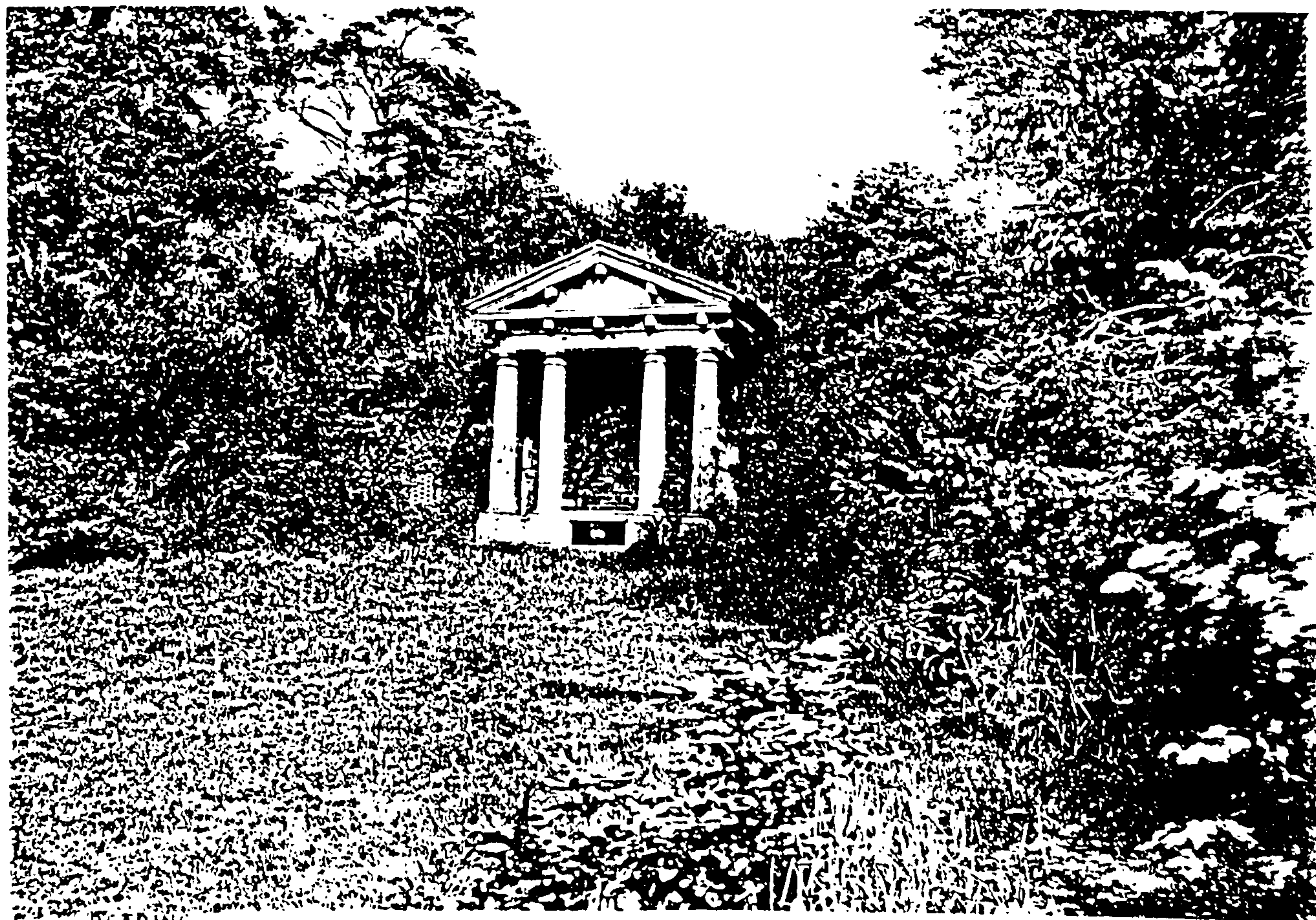
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THE LAVENDER WALK.

"COUNTRY LIFE"

2 & 3. Esher Place.



TEMPLE IN THE WILDERNESS.

"COUNTRY LIFE"



Copyright

THE NORTH GARDEN.

"COUNTRY LIFE."

4 & 5. Castle Bromwich.



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CASTLE BROMWICH: THE WEST FACADE.

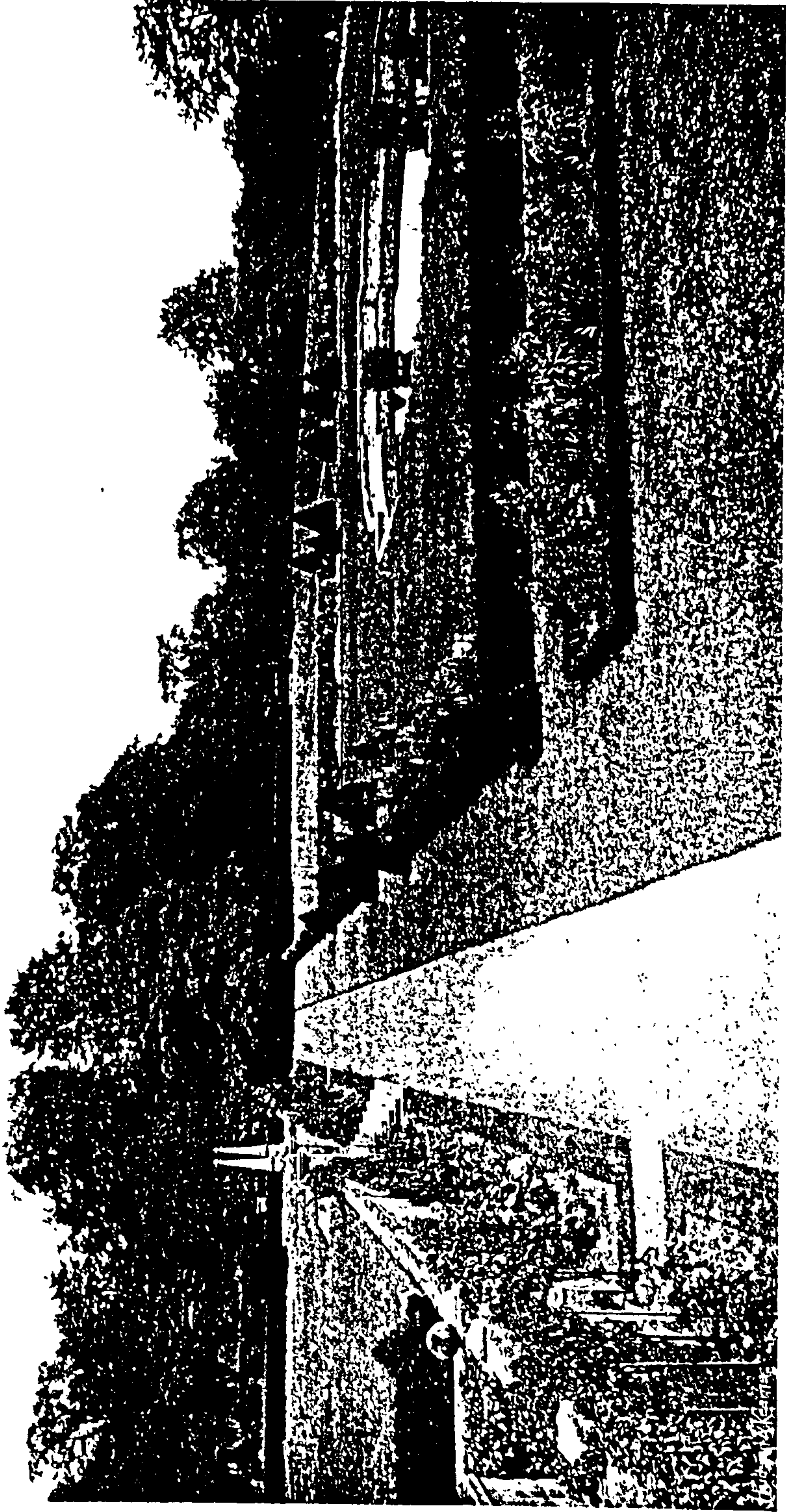
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6. Renishaw Hall.

GARDENS OLD AND NEW.—RENISHAW HALL: THE HALL.

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"COUNTRY LIFE."
R7132



Copyright

RENISHAW HALL: THE GARDEN PLAN.

7. Renishaw Hall.

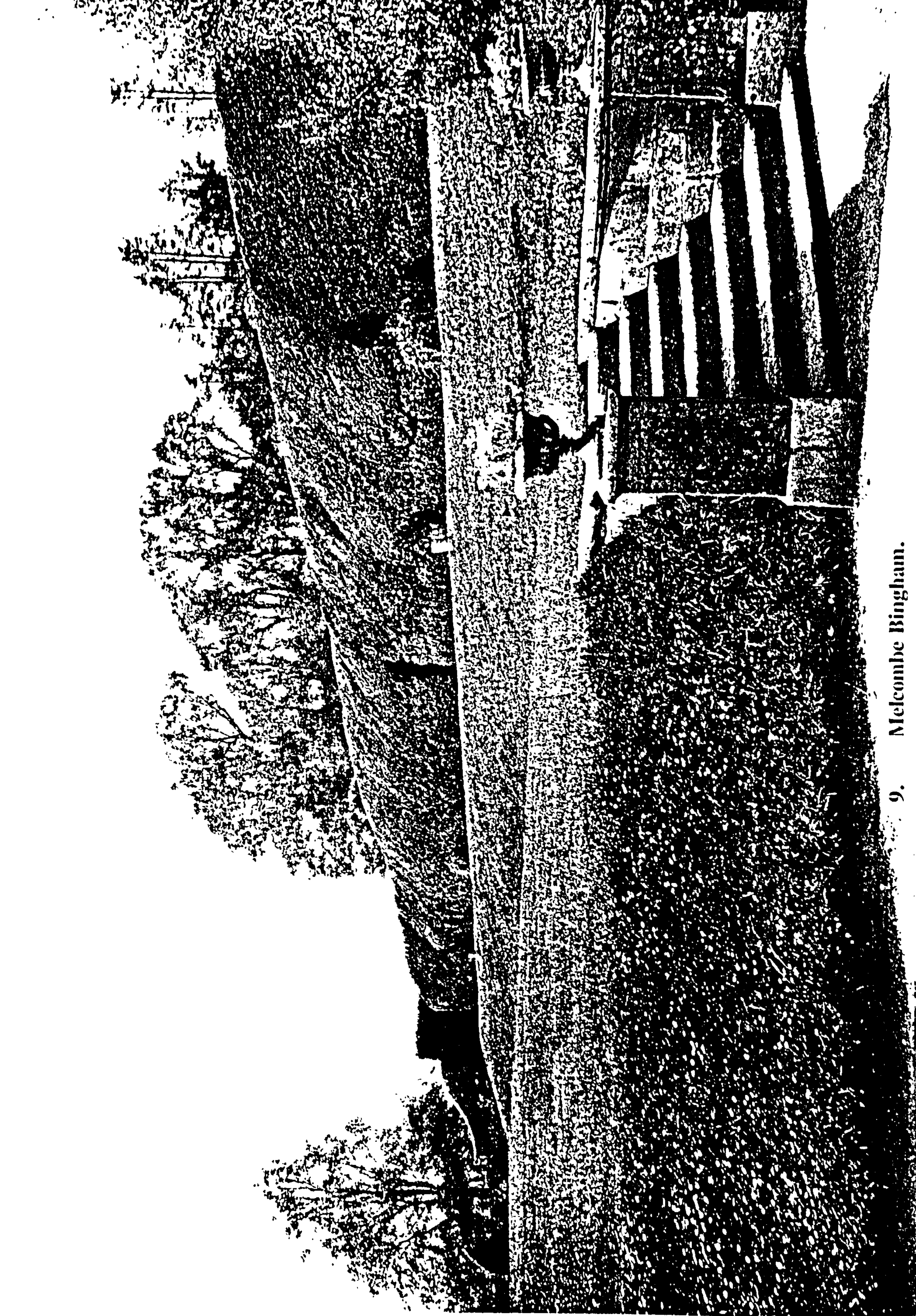
"COUNTRY LIFE"

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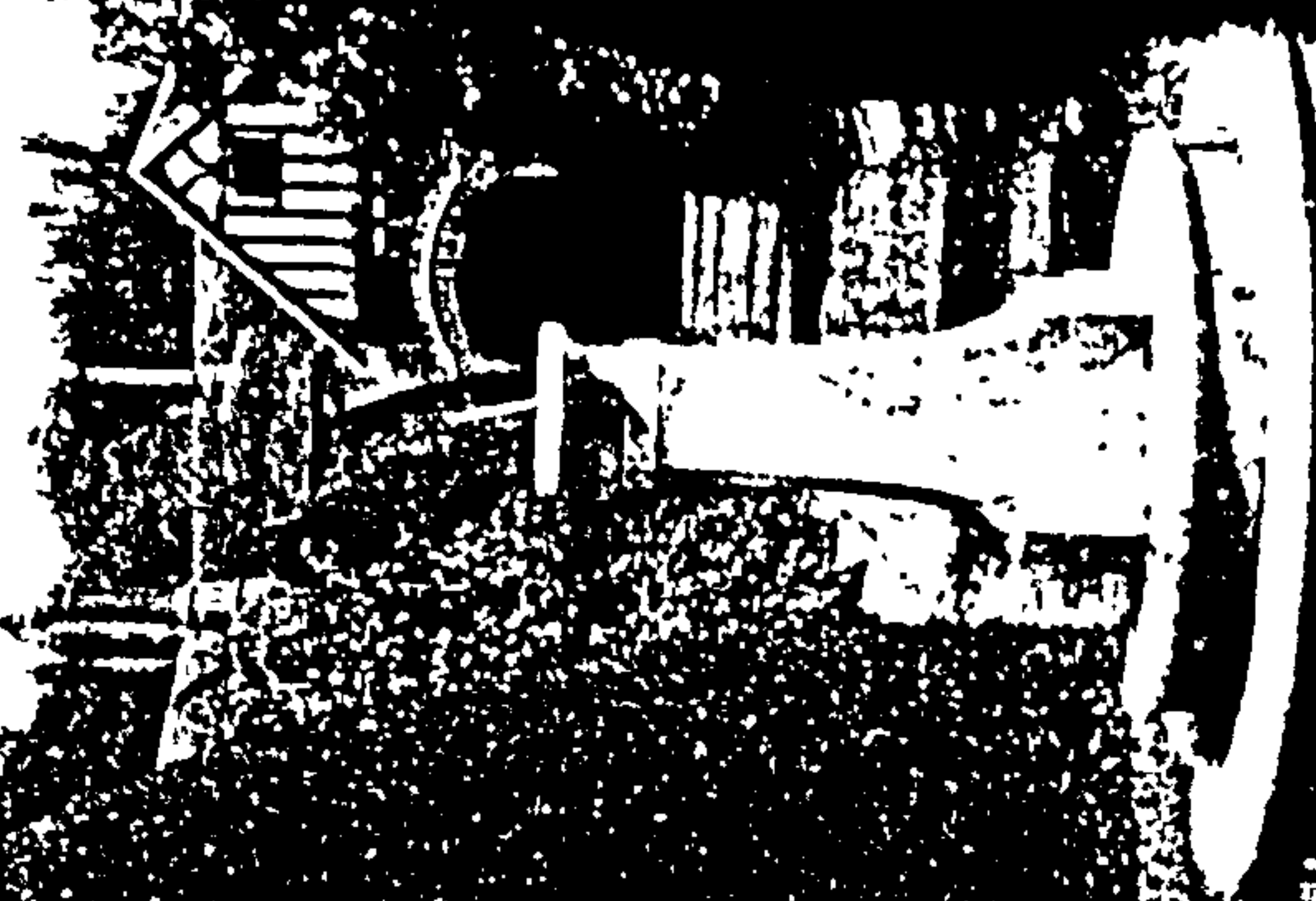
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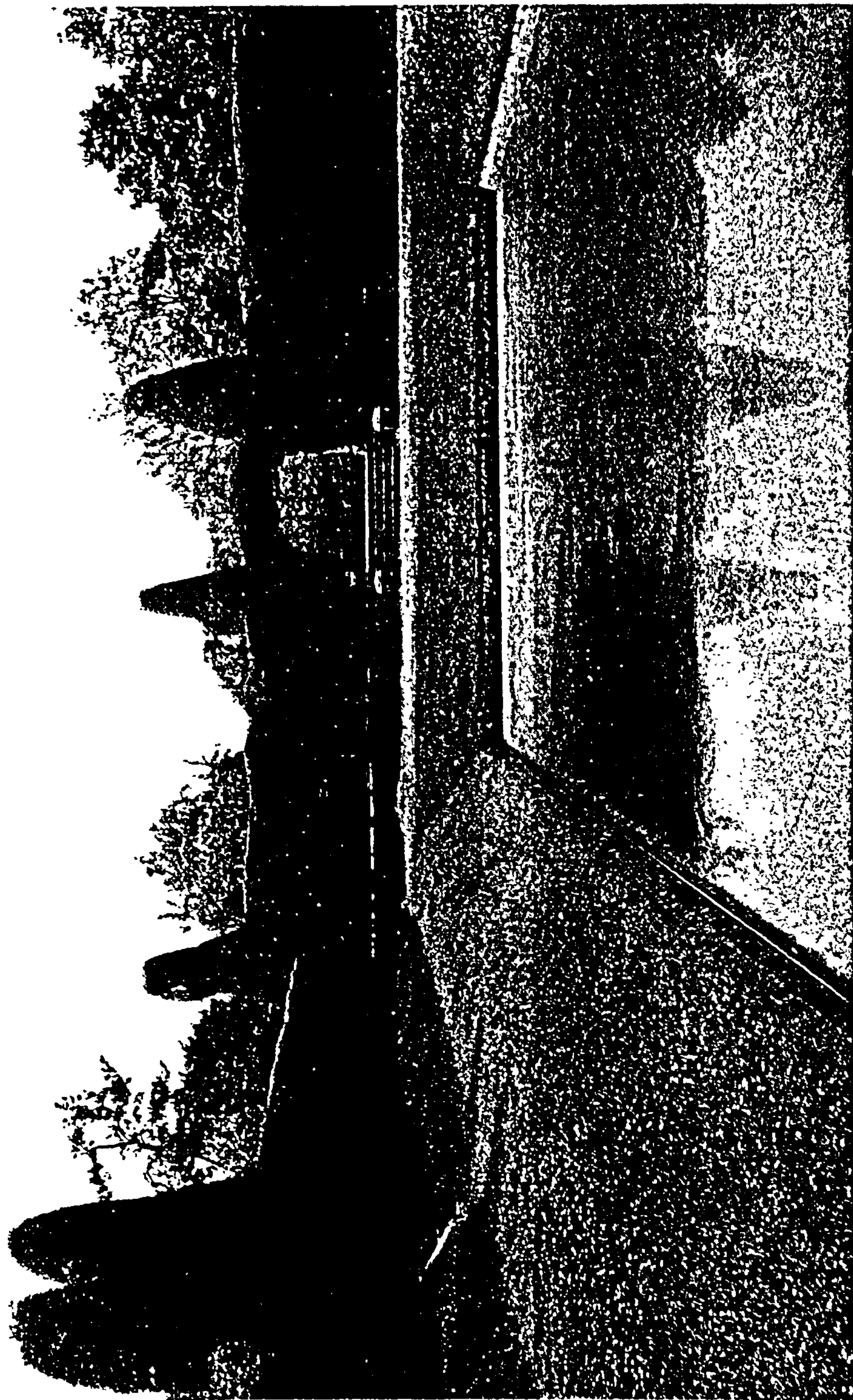


8. Prior Park. 771



9. Melcombe Bingham.





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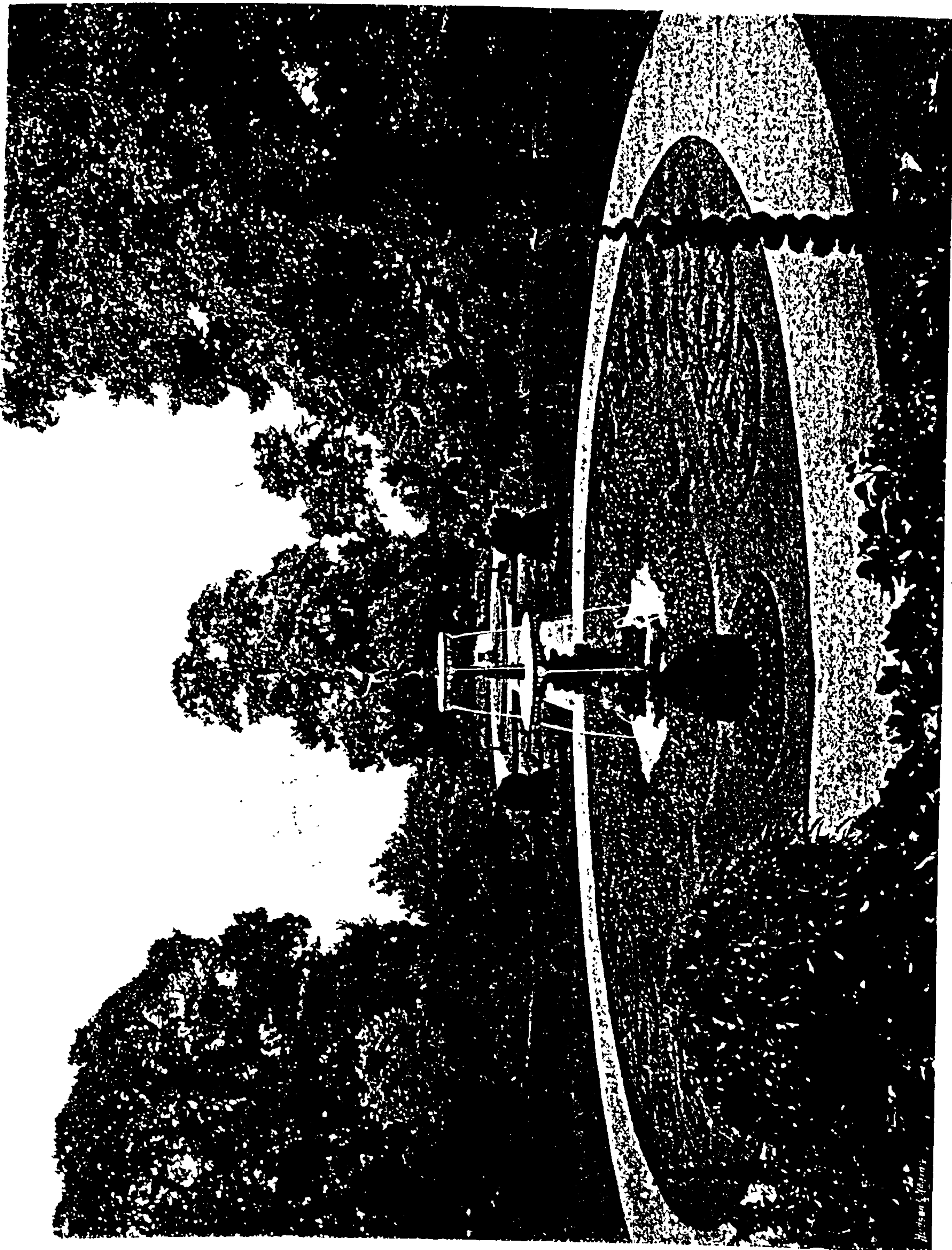
THE FISH-PONDS—EVENING.

11. Brickwall.

"COUNTRY LIFE"



12. Brickwall.

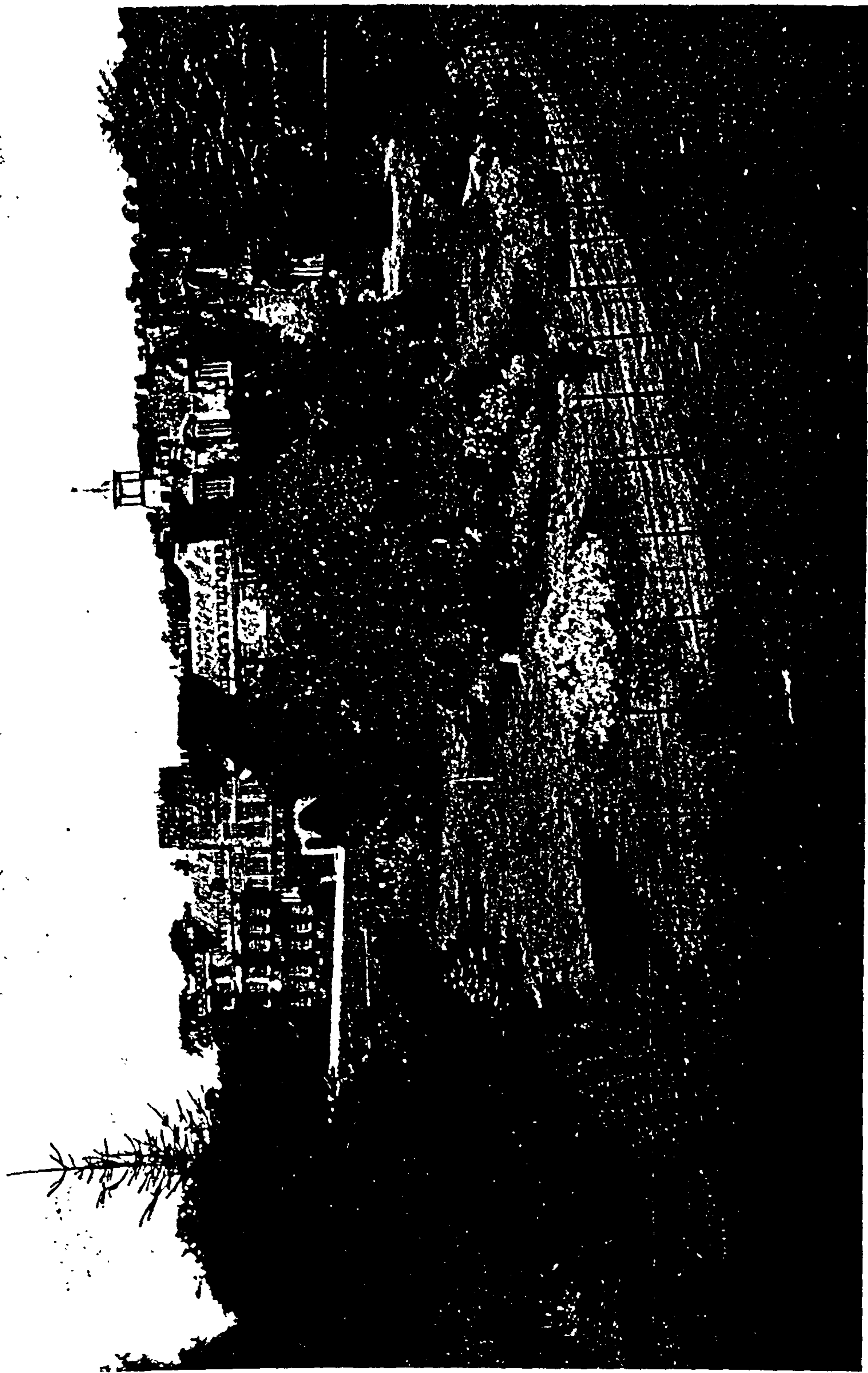


Copyright

THE FOUNTAIN GARDEN.

13. Ascott.

"COUNTRY LIFE"



Copyright

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE HOUSE.

14. Forde Abbey.

"COUNTRY LIFE."



MANY FLOWERS ON THE WATER MARGIN.

"COUNTRY" LIFE.

15 & 16 Oakwood.

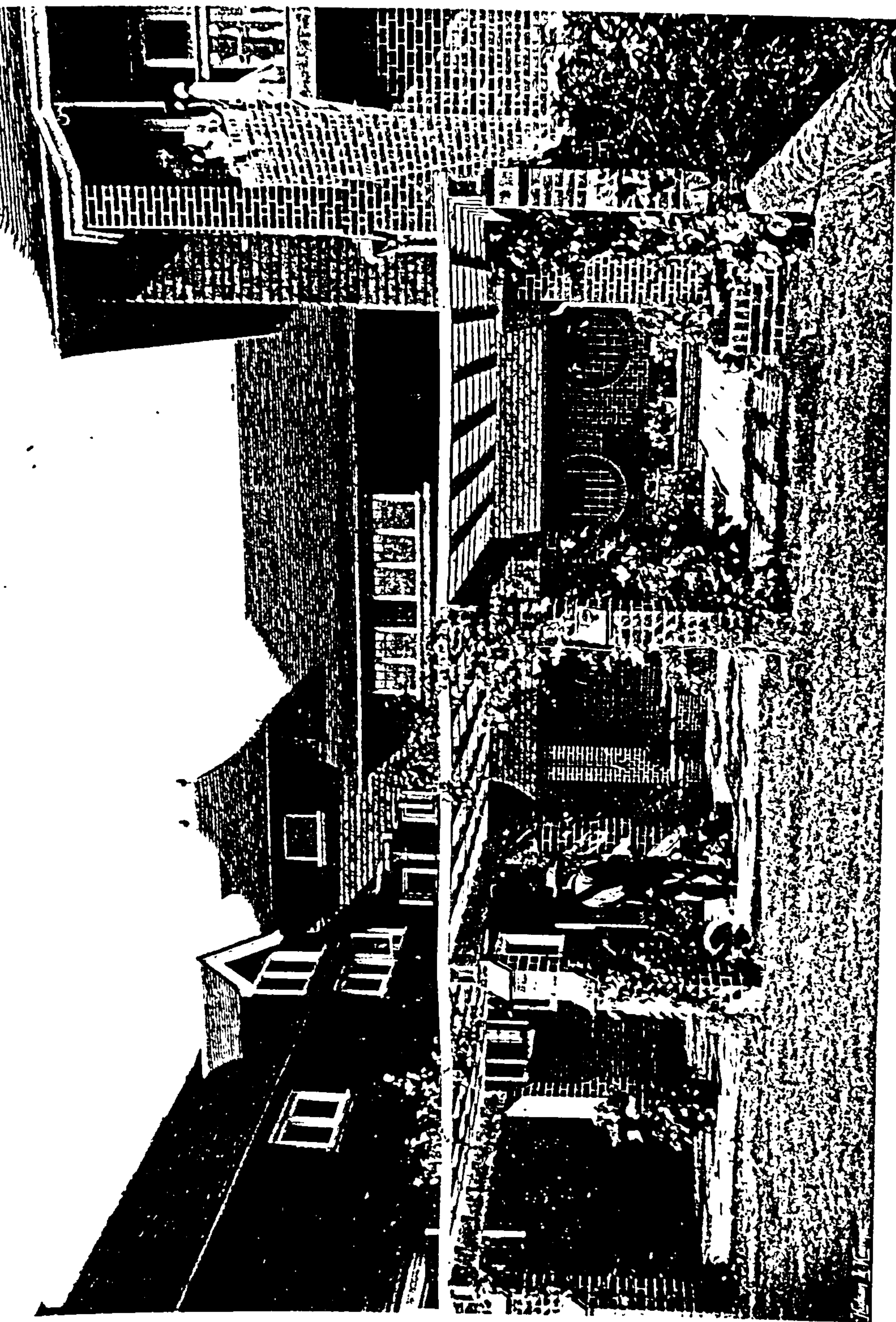


ON THE SLOPE NEAR THE COTTAGE.

READING
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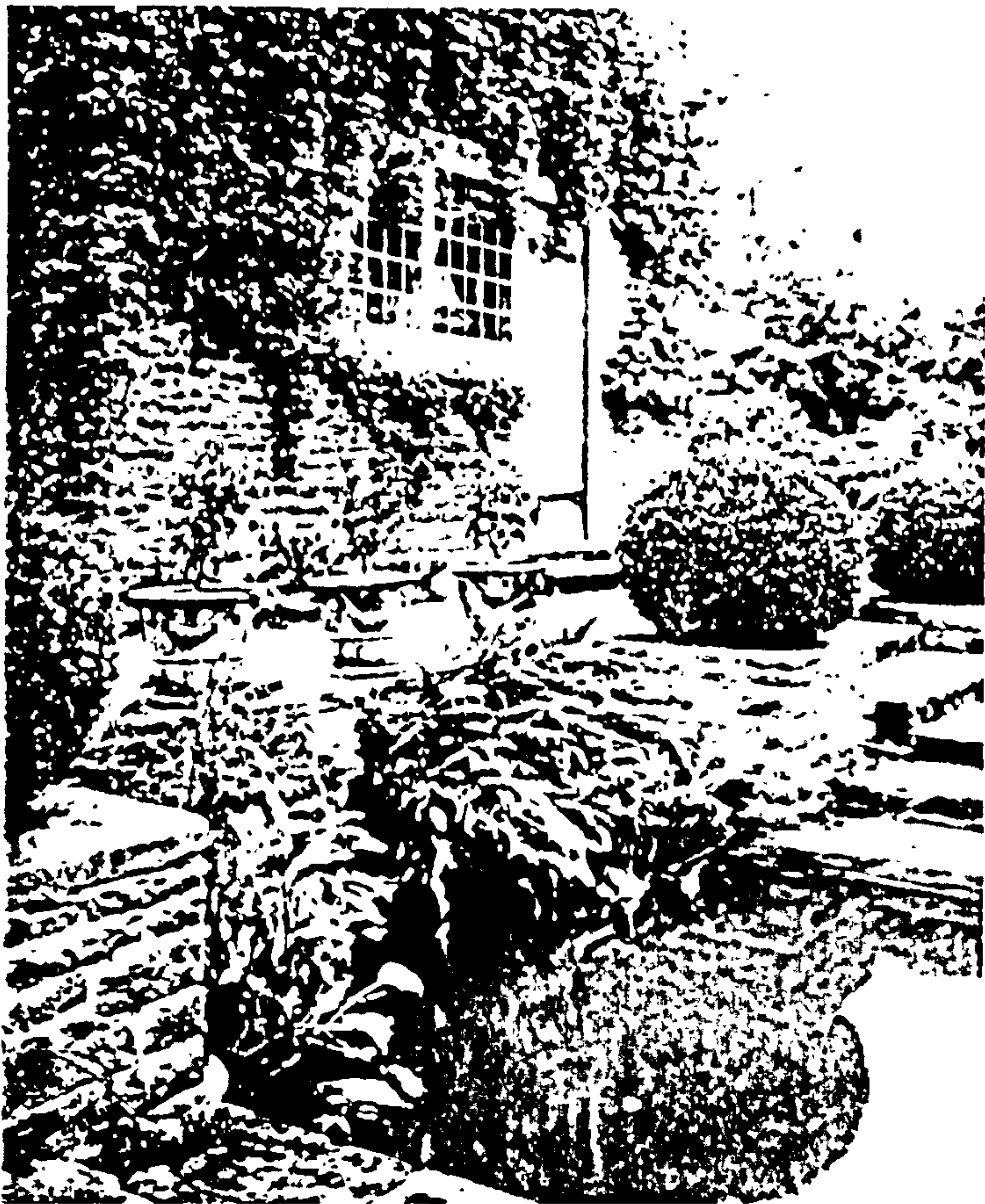
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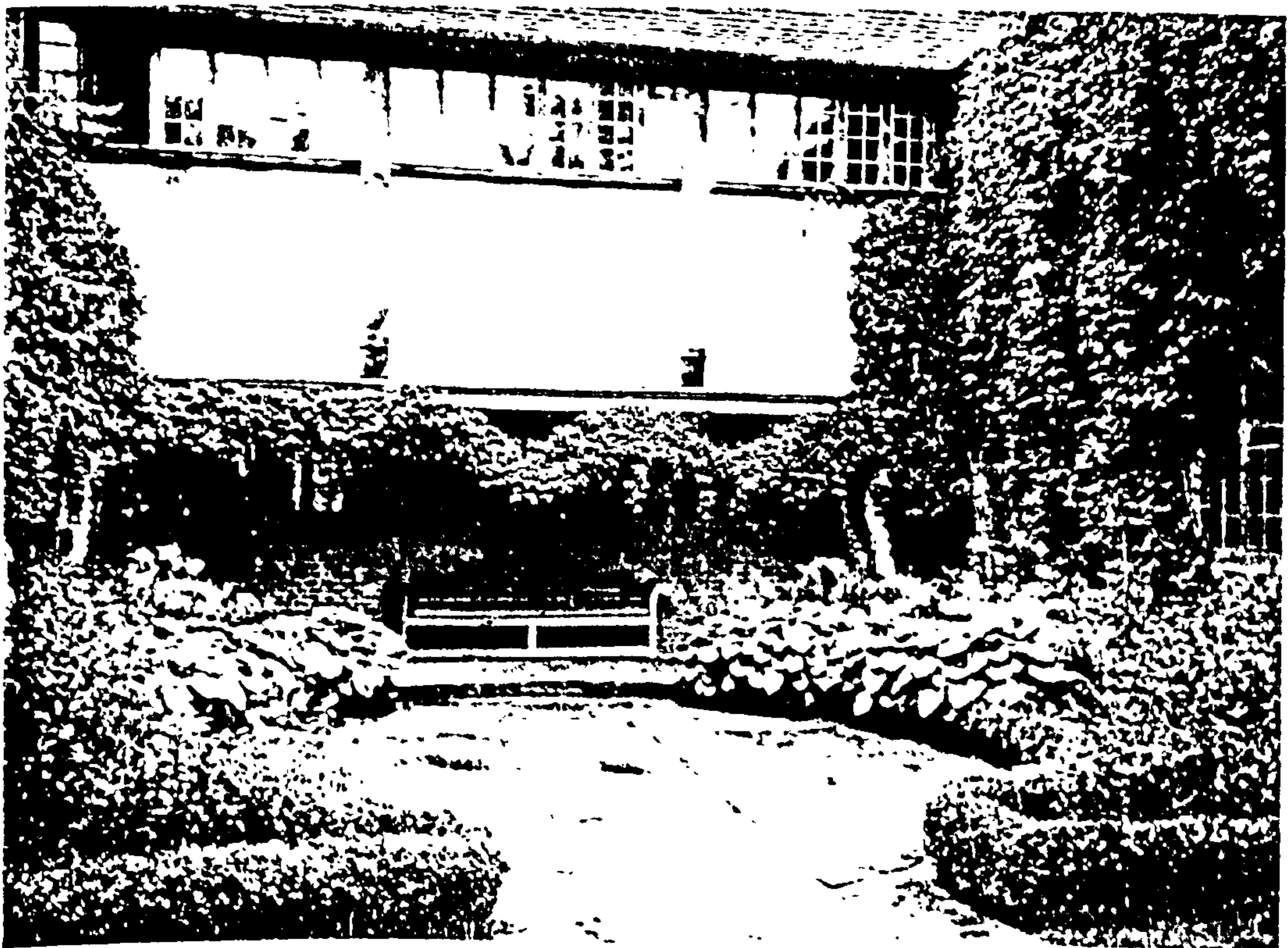
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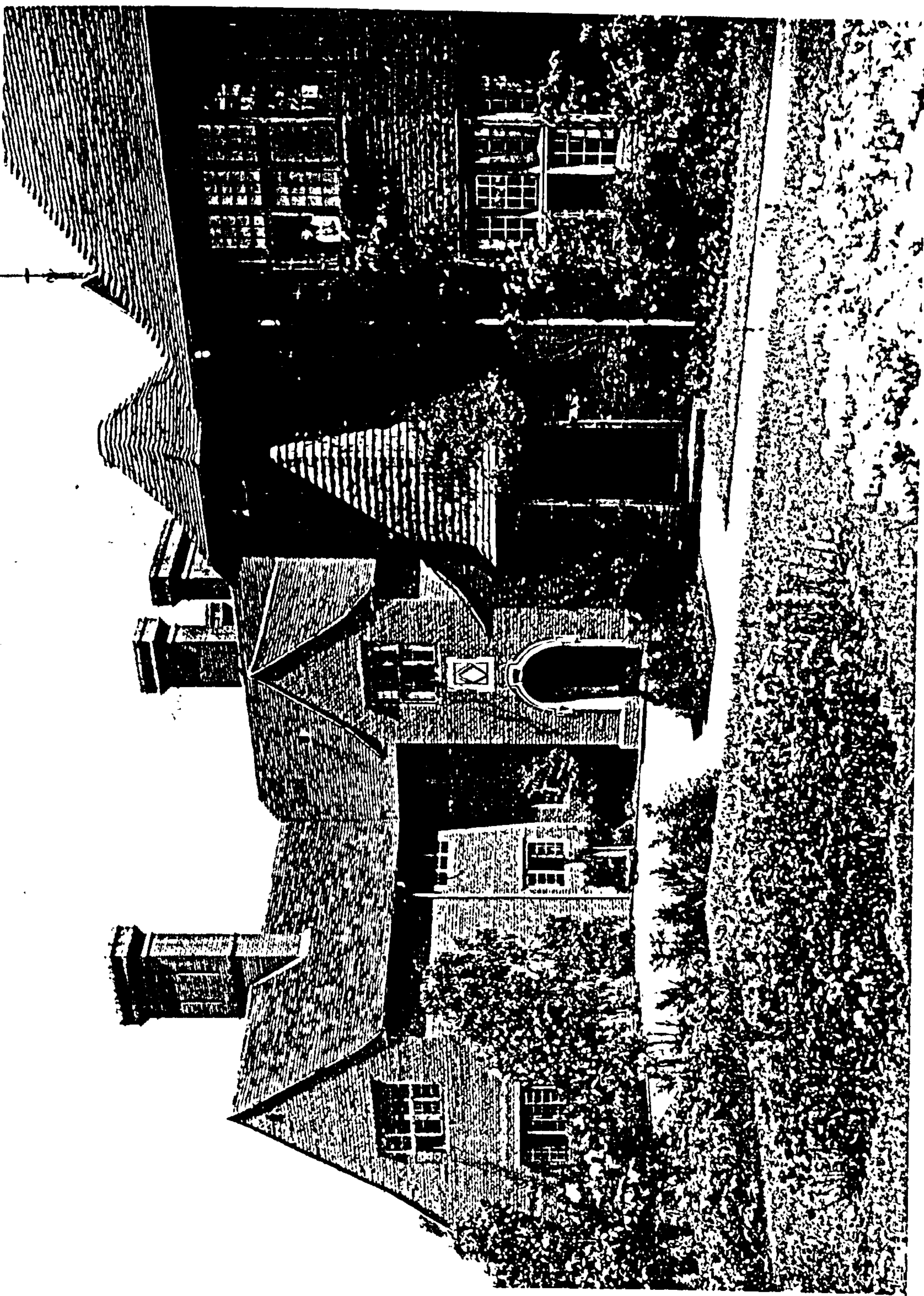
21 & 22. Munstead Wood.





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FROM A BEDROOM WINDOW AT FULBROOK HOUSE.

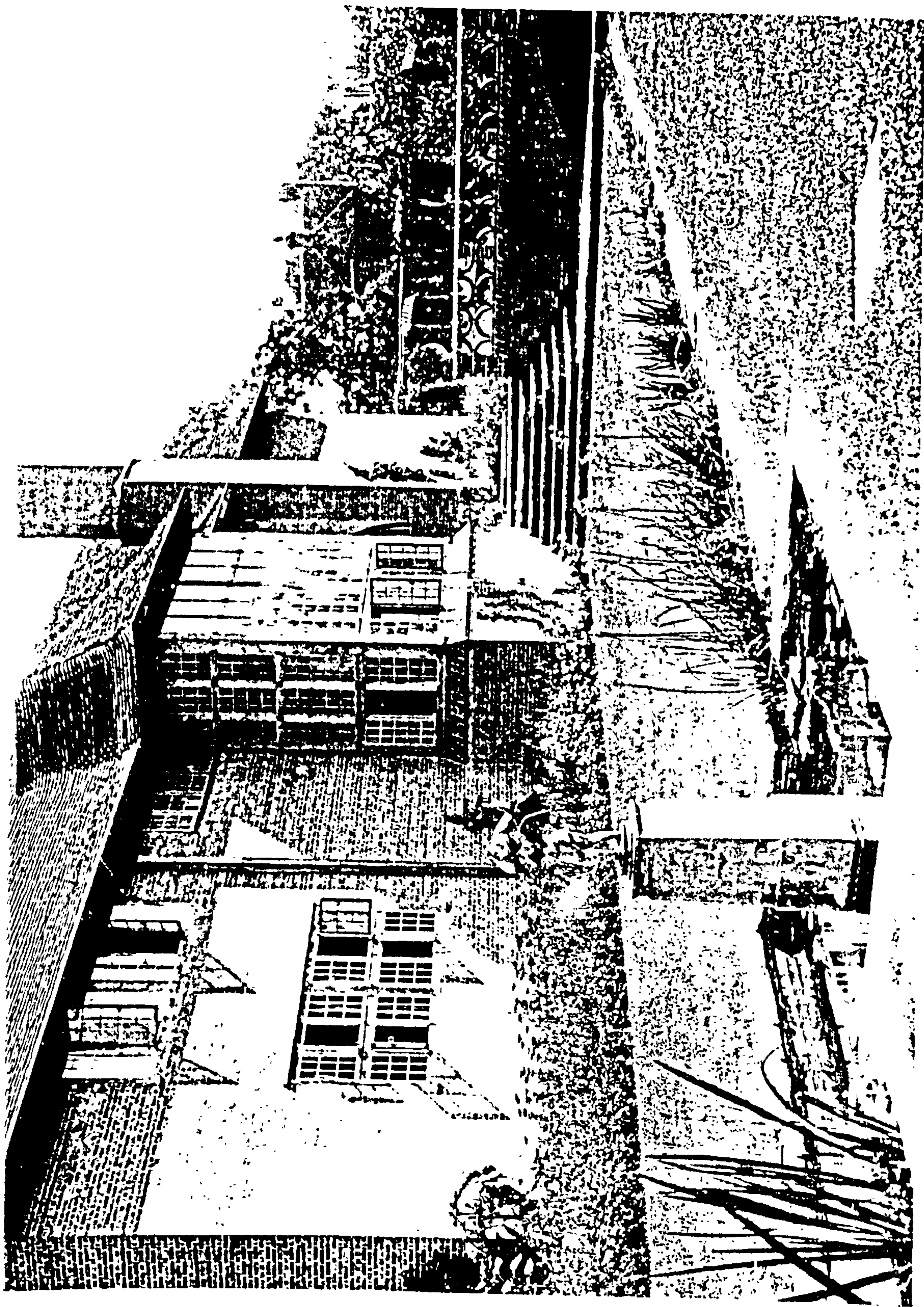
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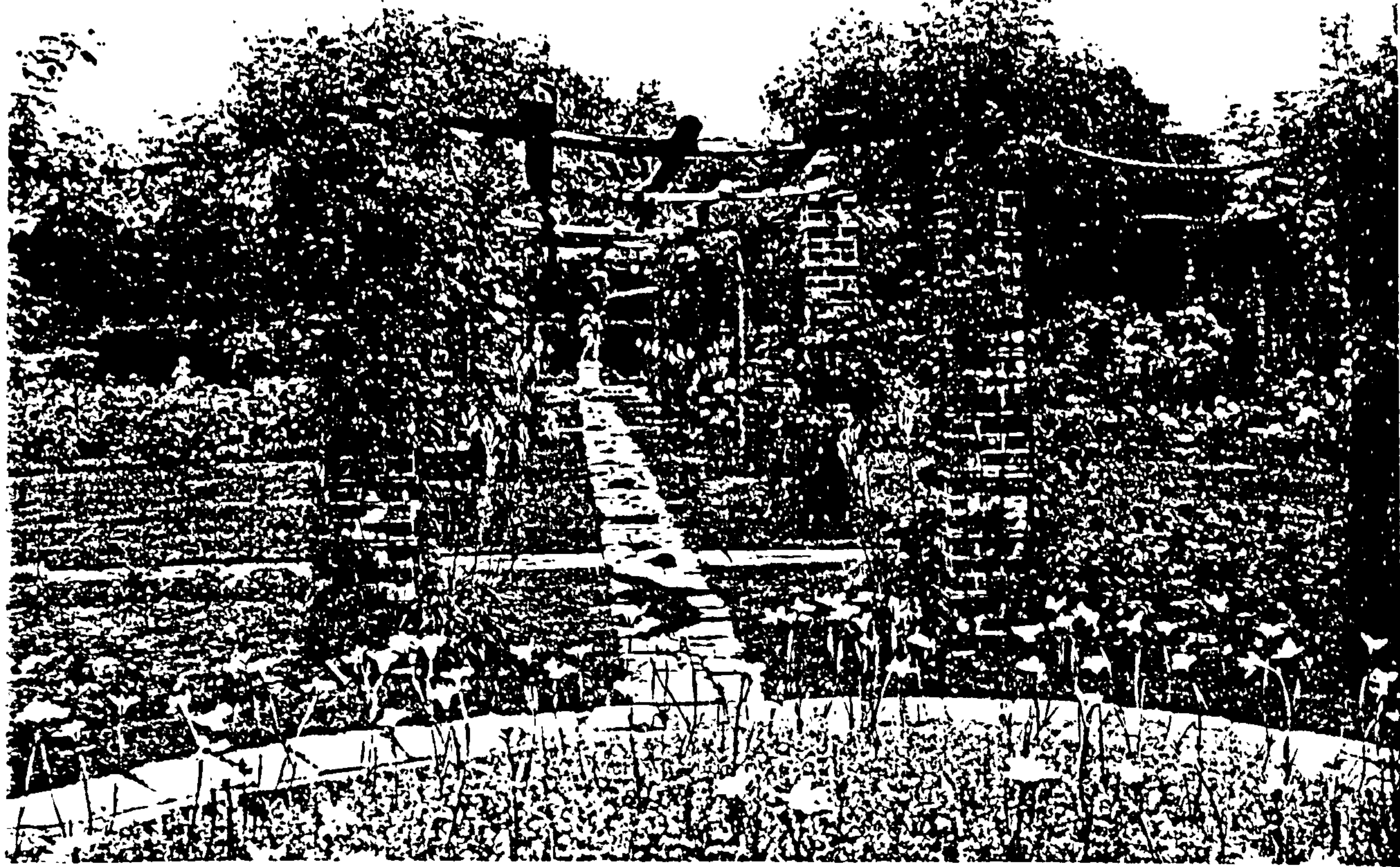
THE GREEN ALLEY OUTSIDE THE WALLED GARDENS.

28 & 29. Sutton Place.



THE NEW SUNK GARDEN.

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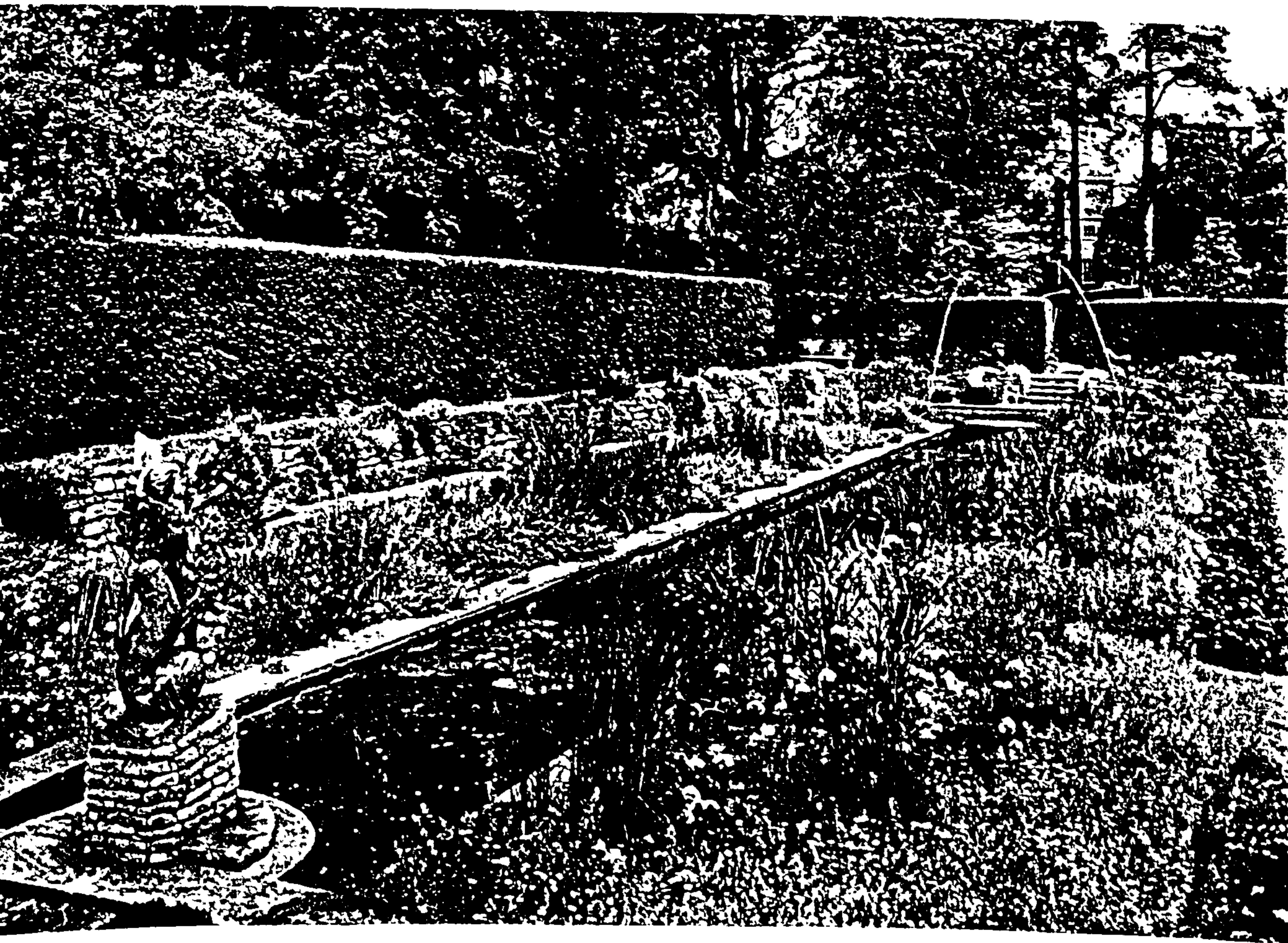


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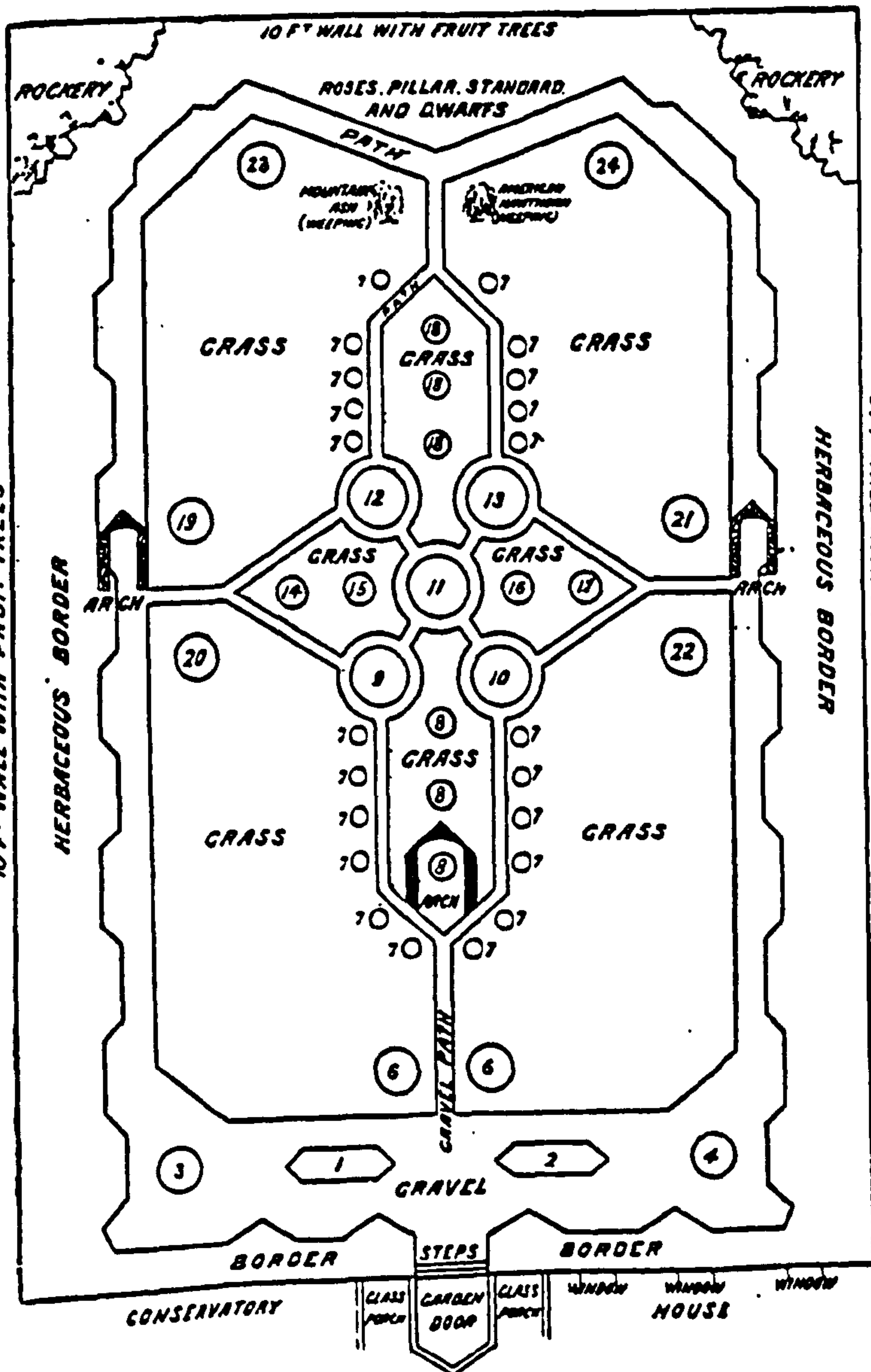
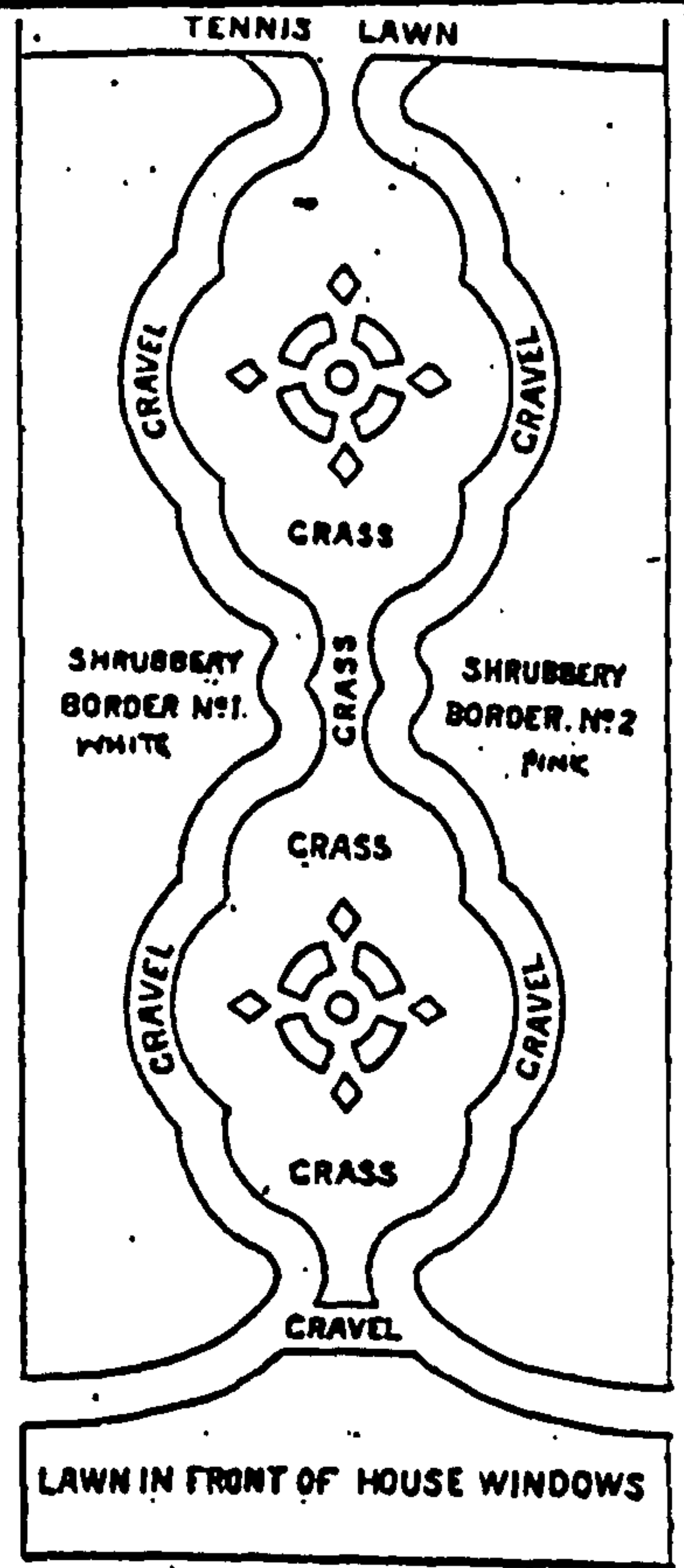
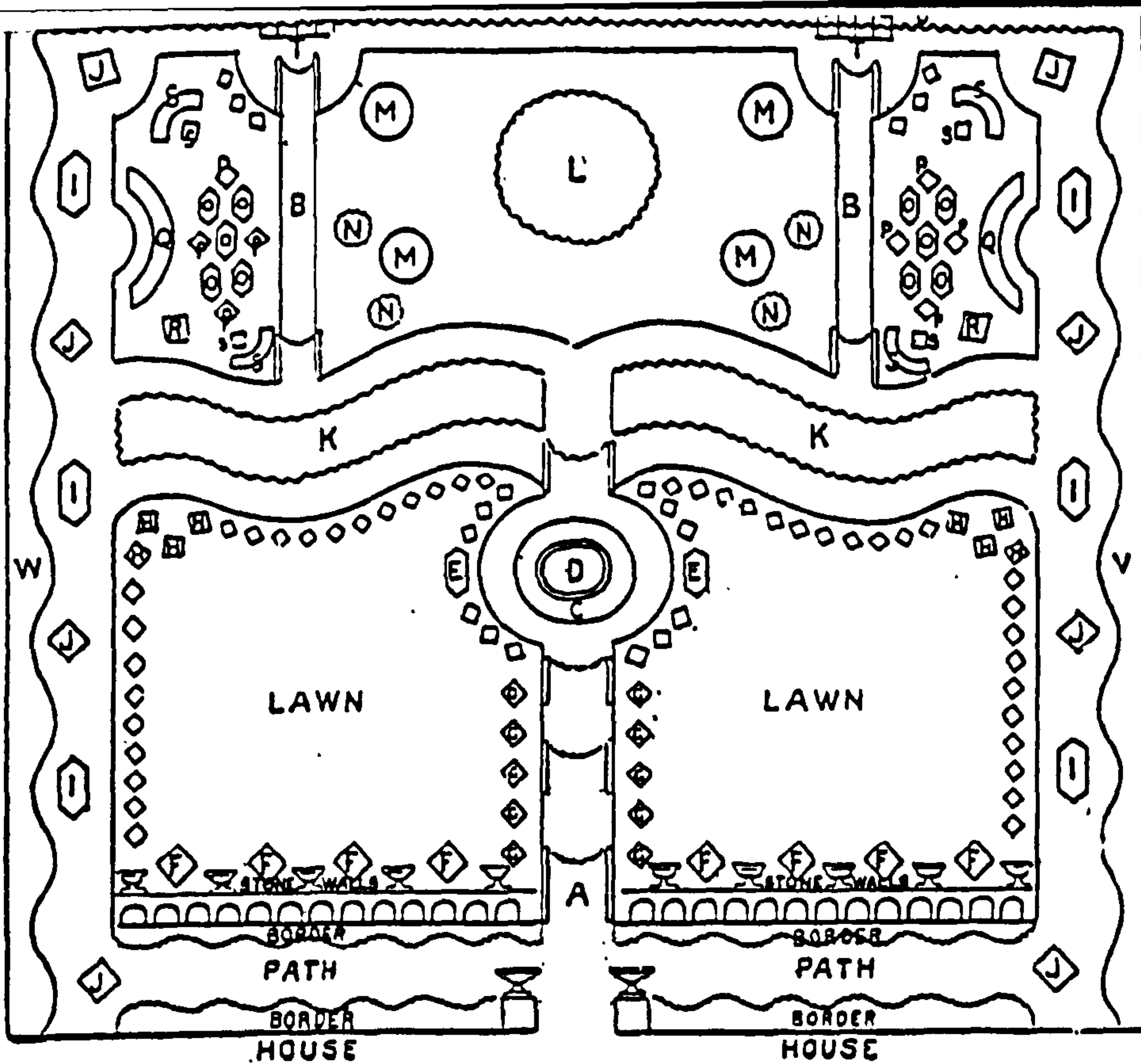
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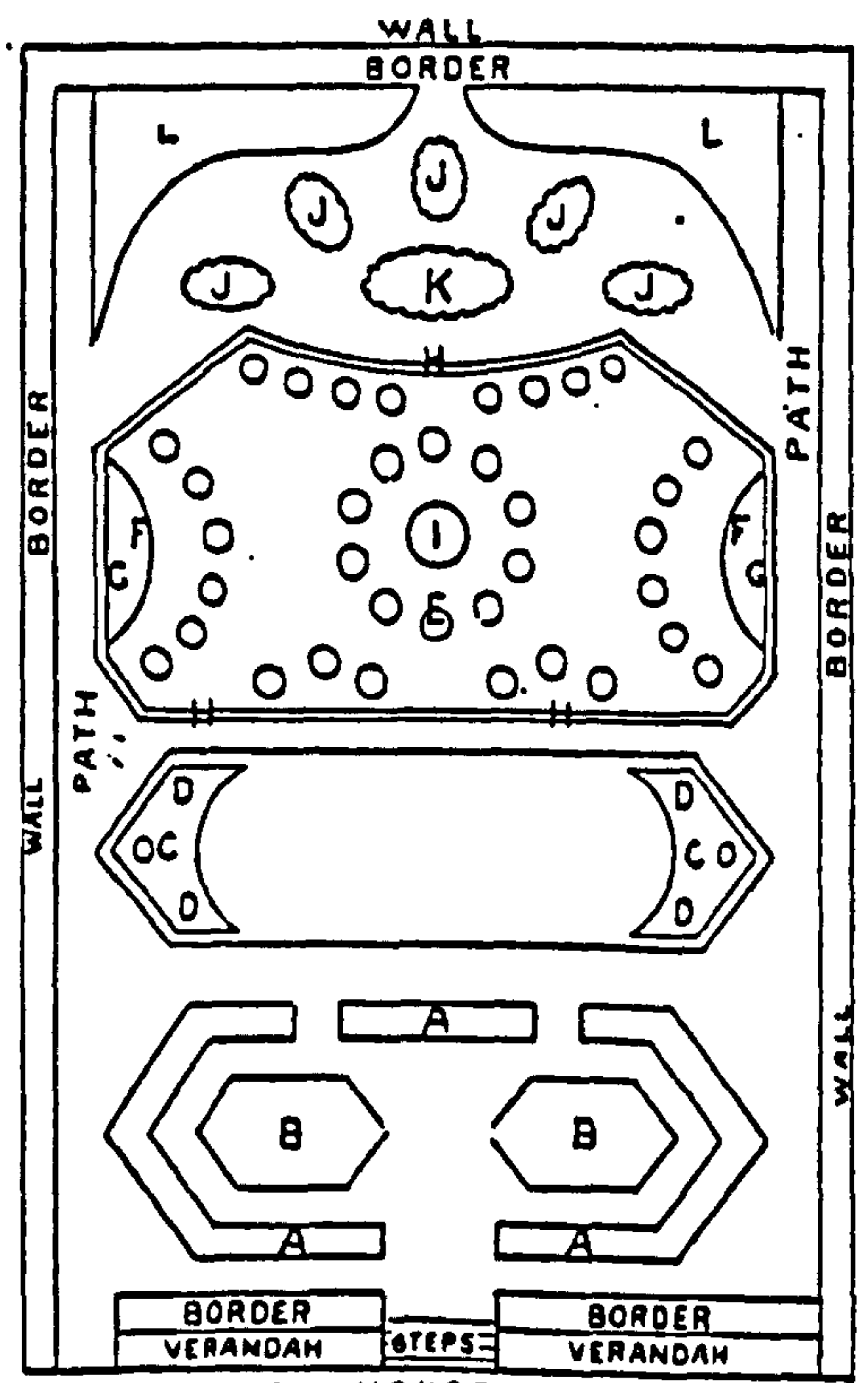
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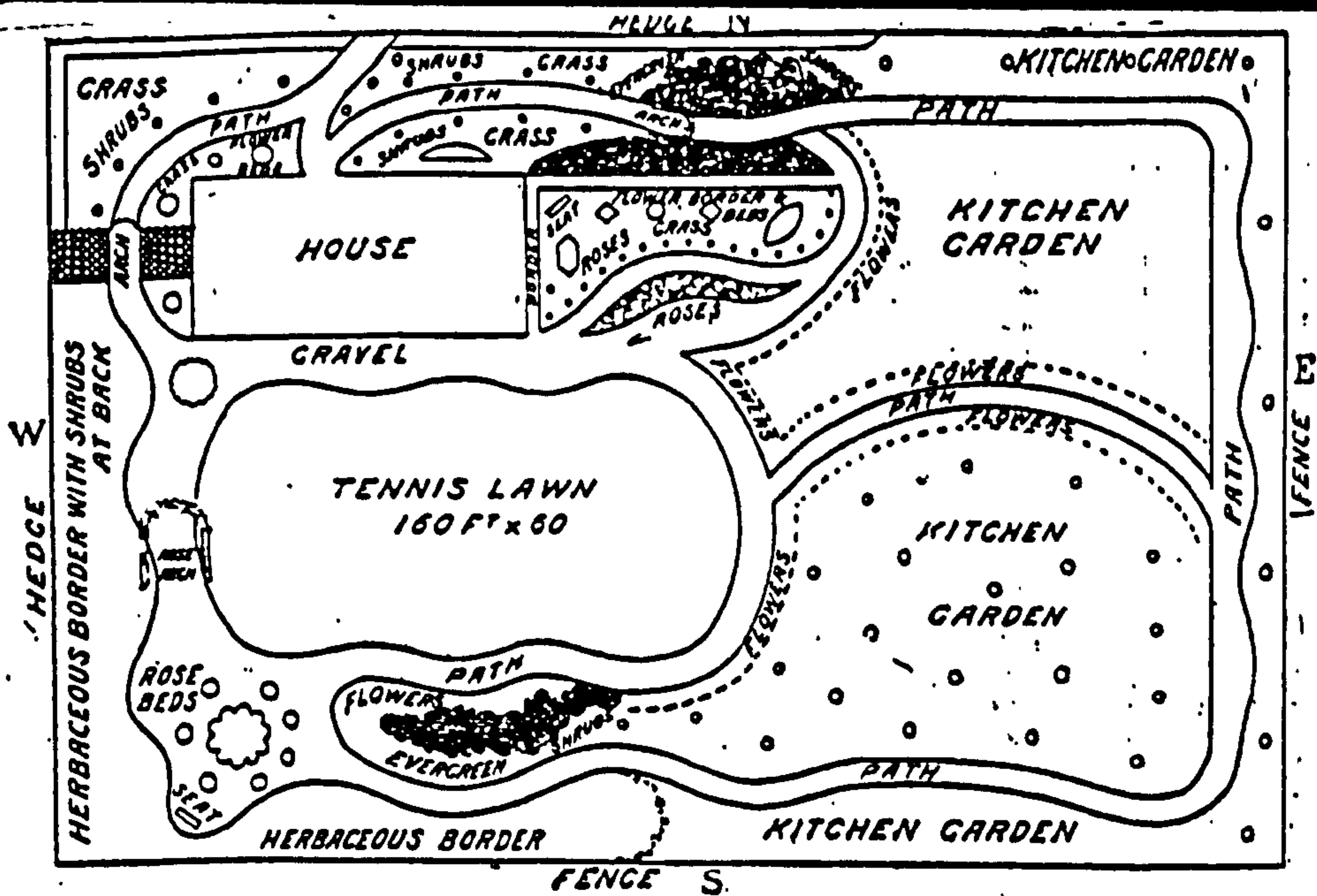
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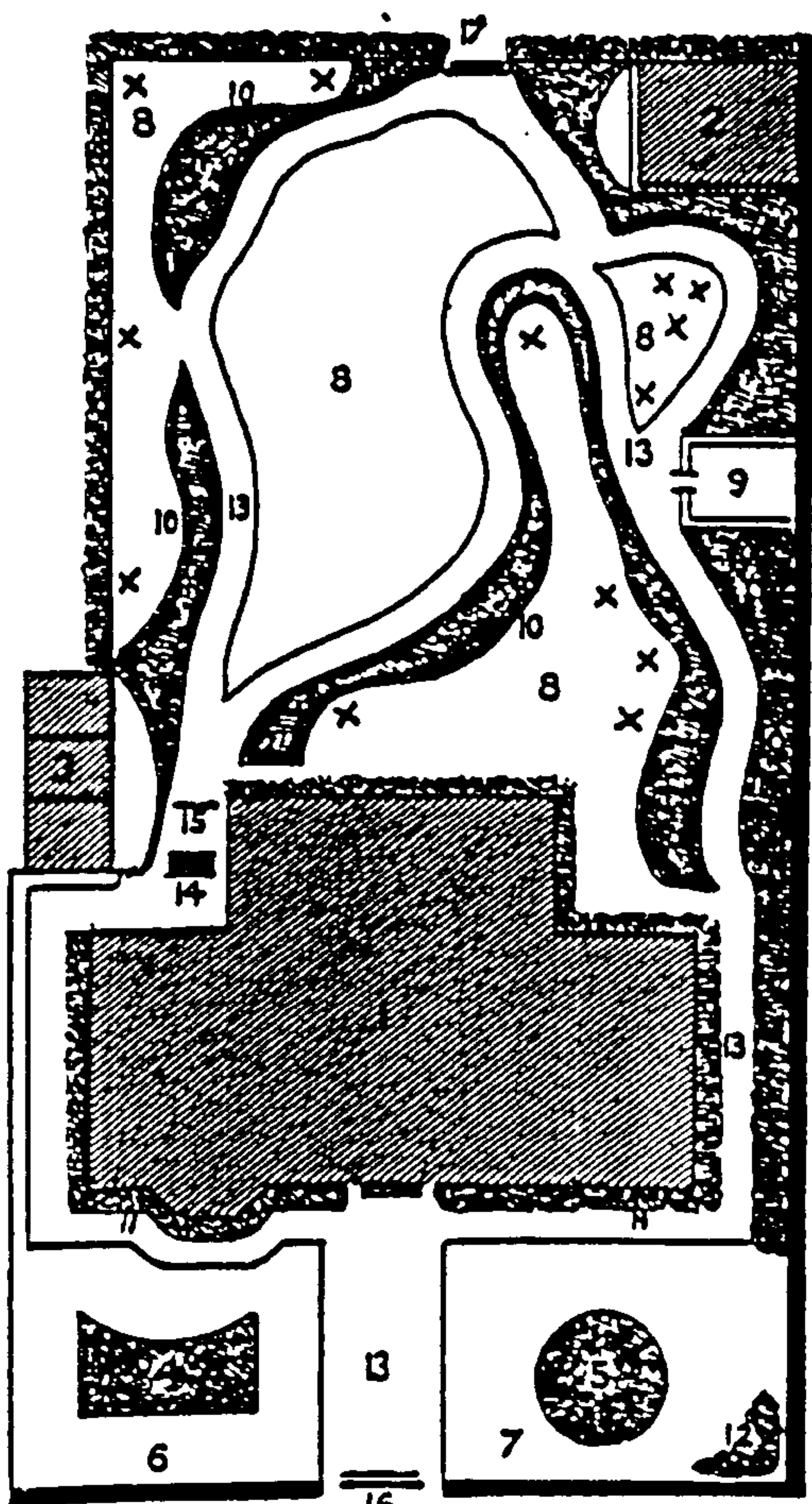
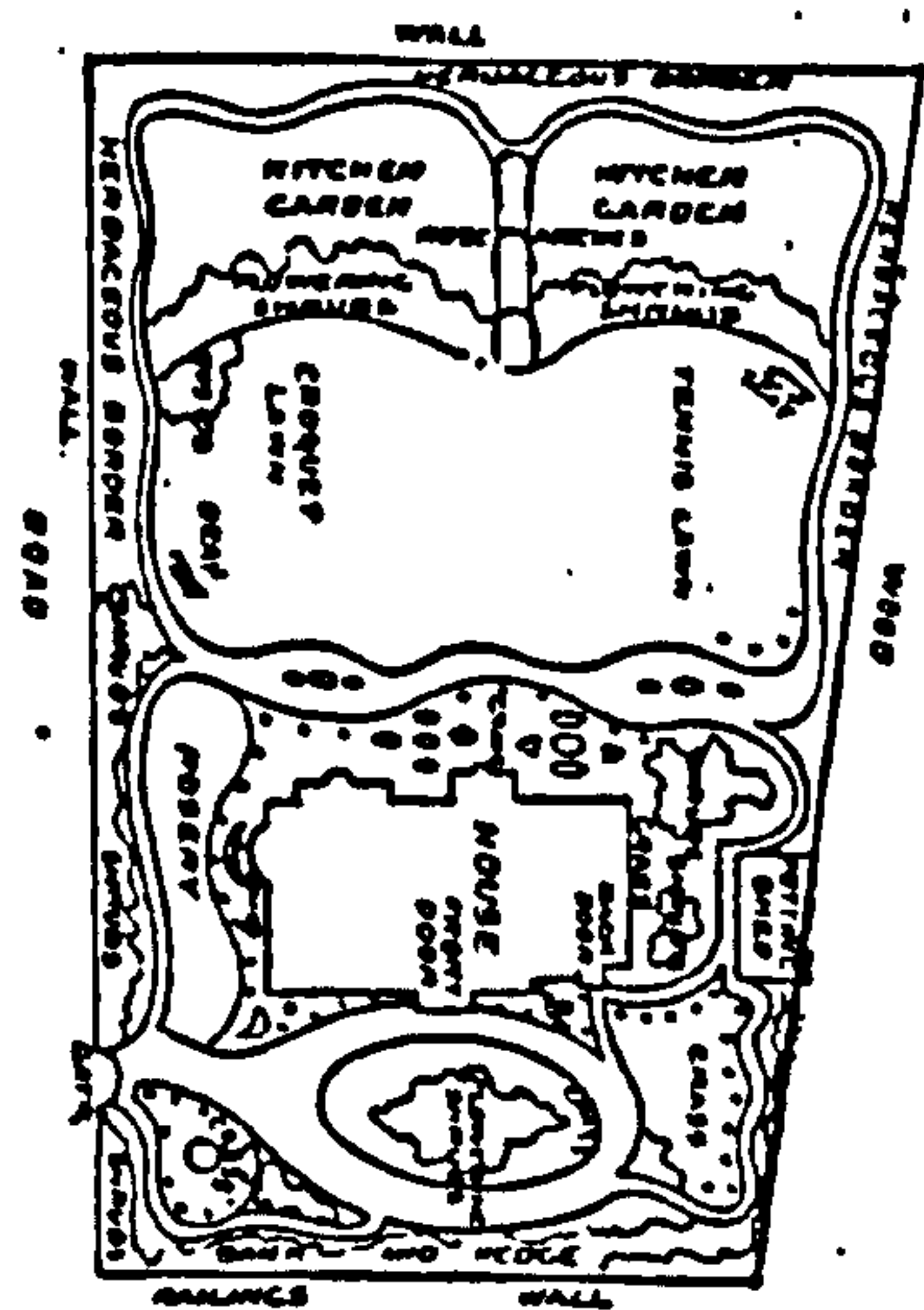


32 - 35. Garden Plans.
(The Gardener)

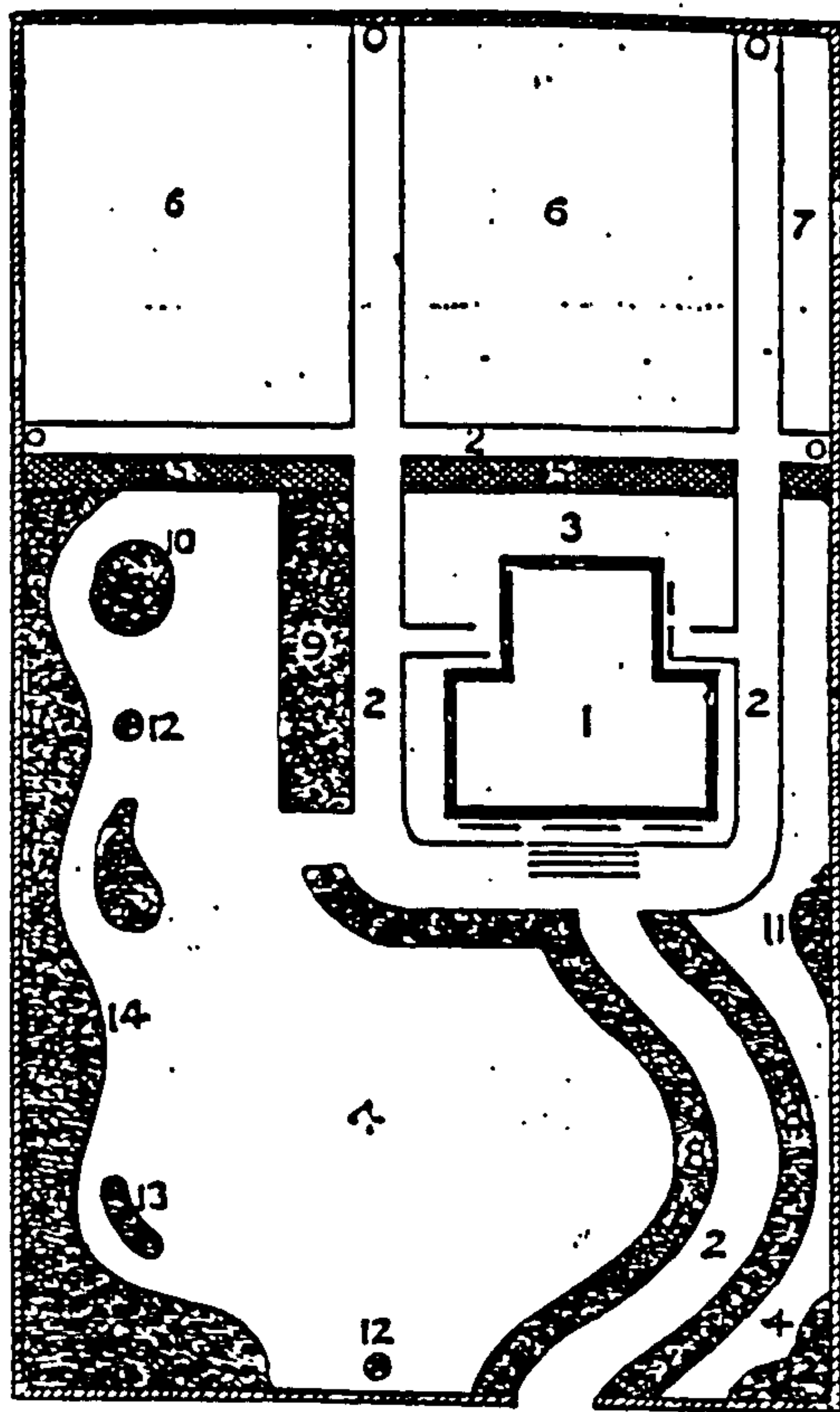




A PLAN FOR 1 ACRE OF GARDEN.



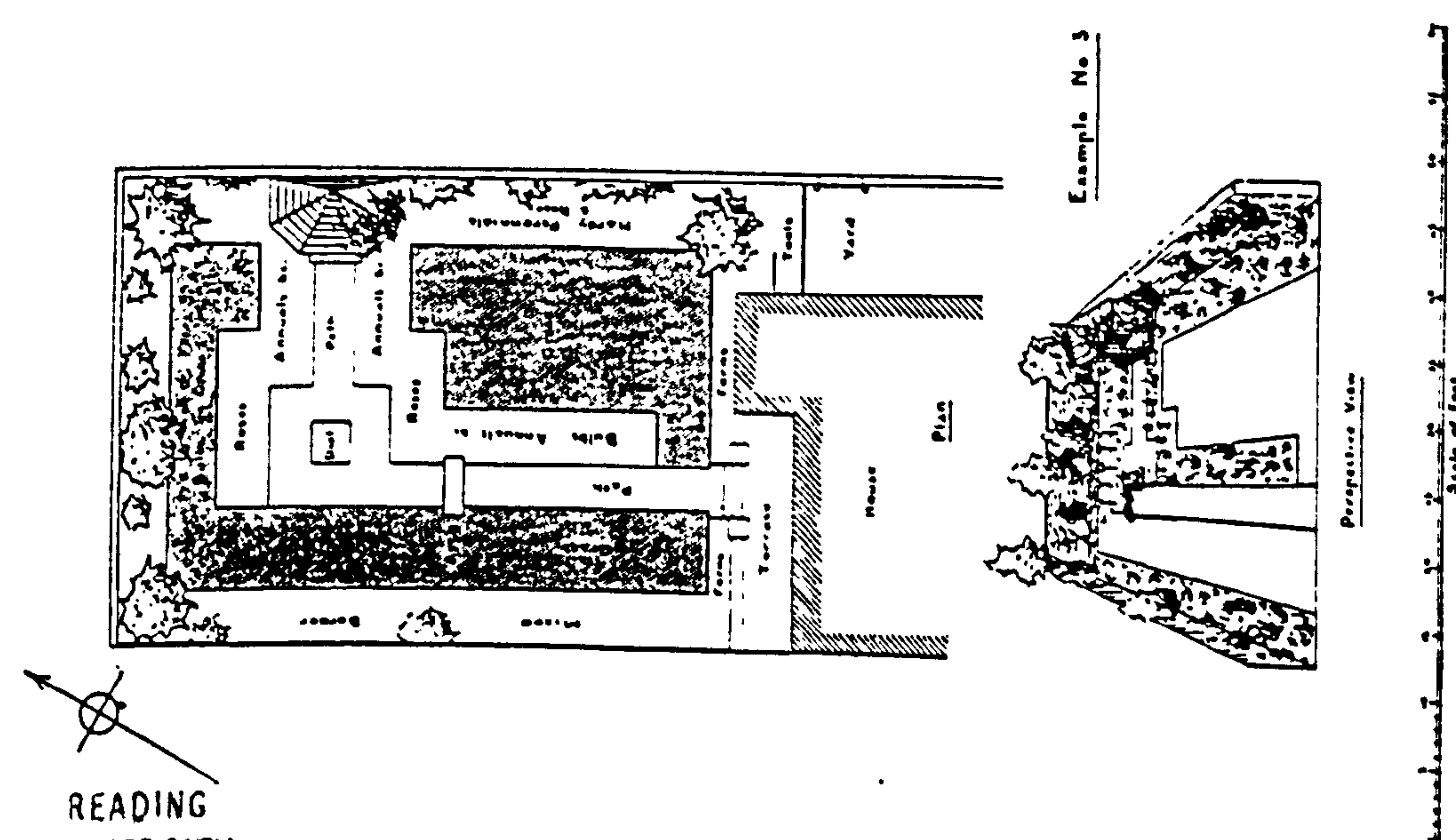
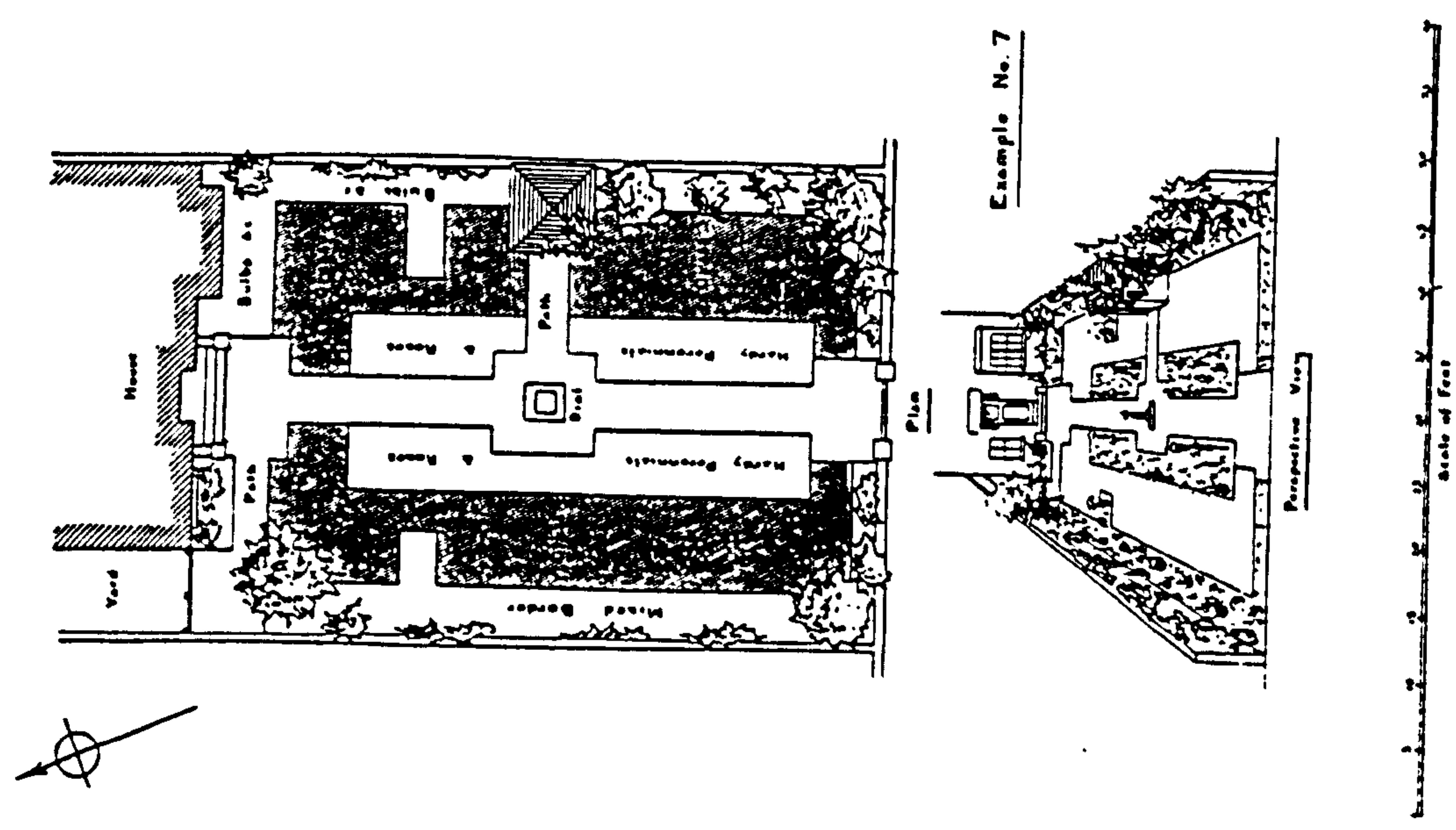
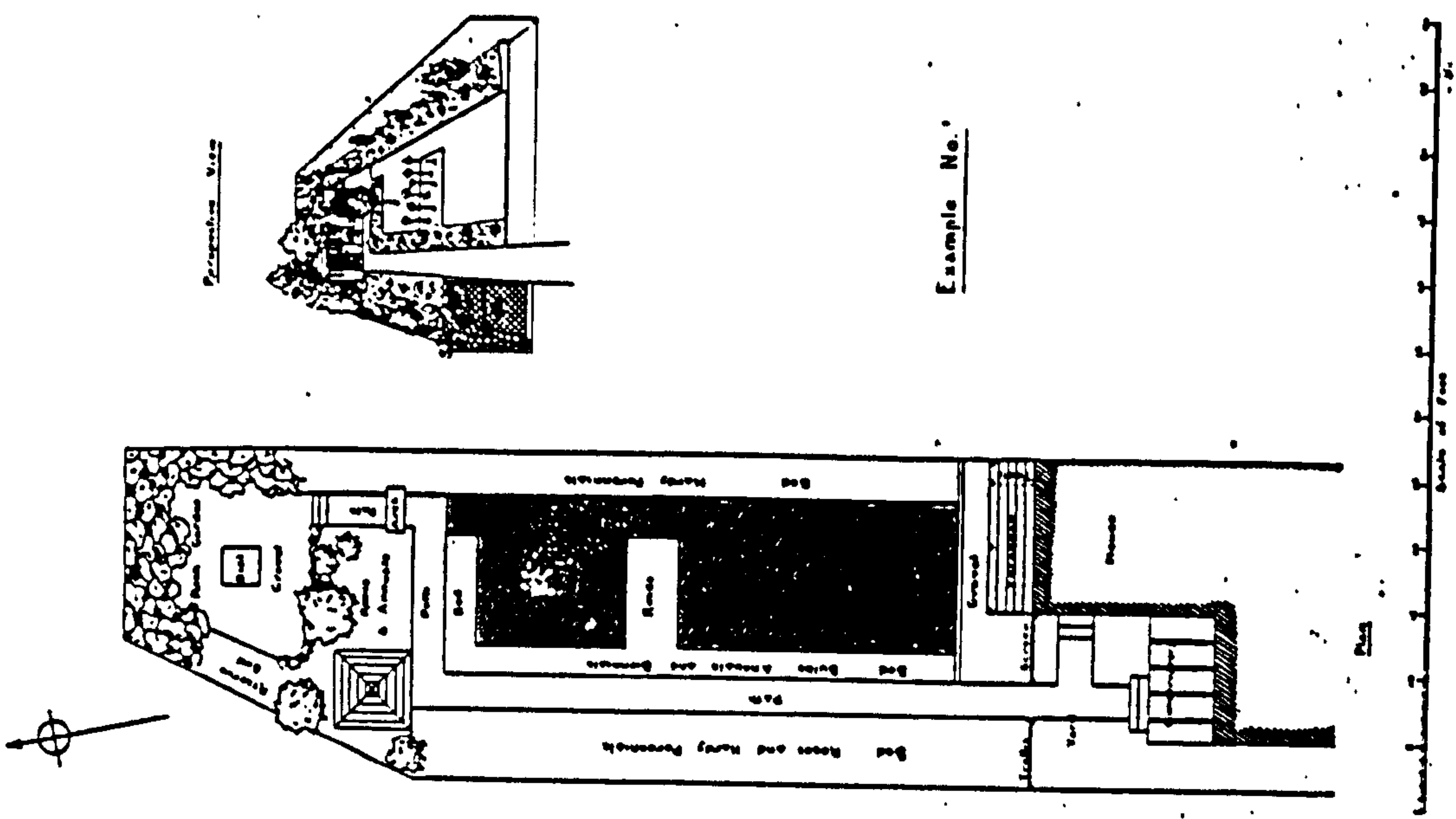
GARDEN PLAN.



LAYING OUT A NEW GARDEN.

36 - 39.

Garden Plans. (*The Gardener*)



40 - 42. Garden Plans. (Villa Gardens)

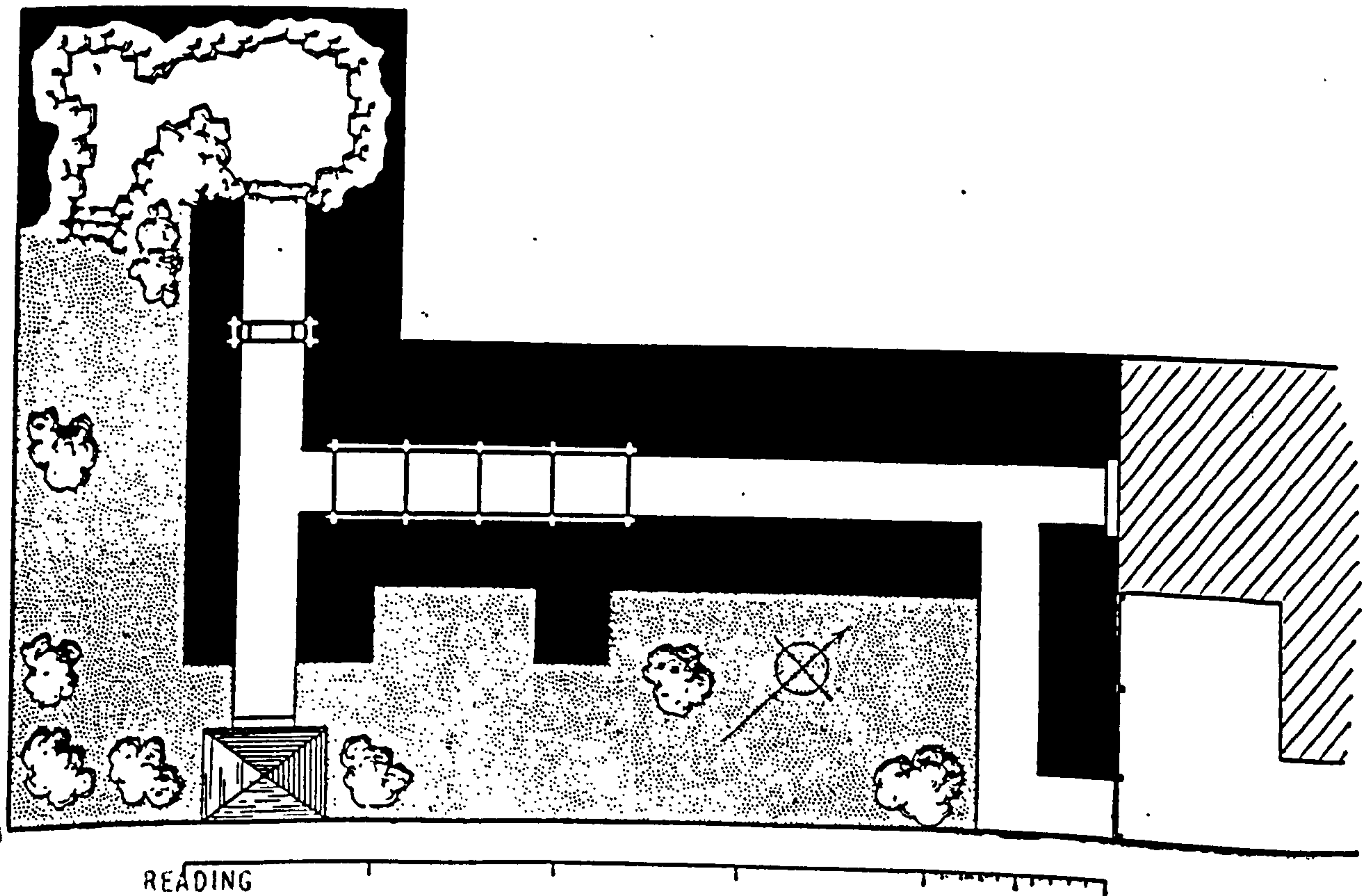


Fig. 108.

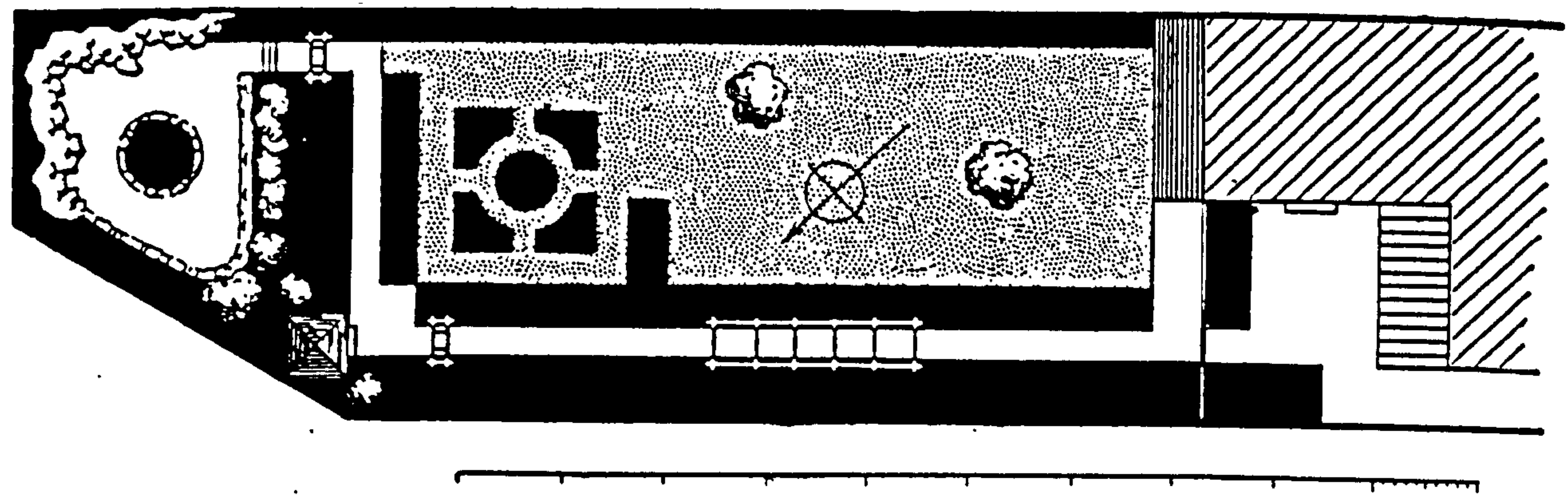


Fig. 107.

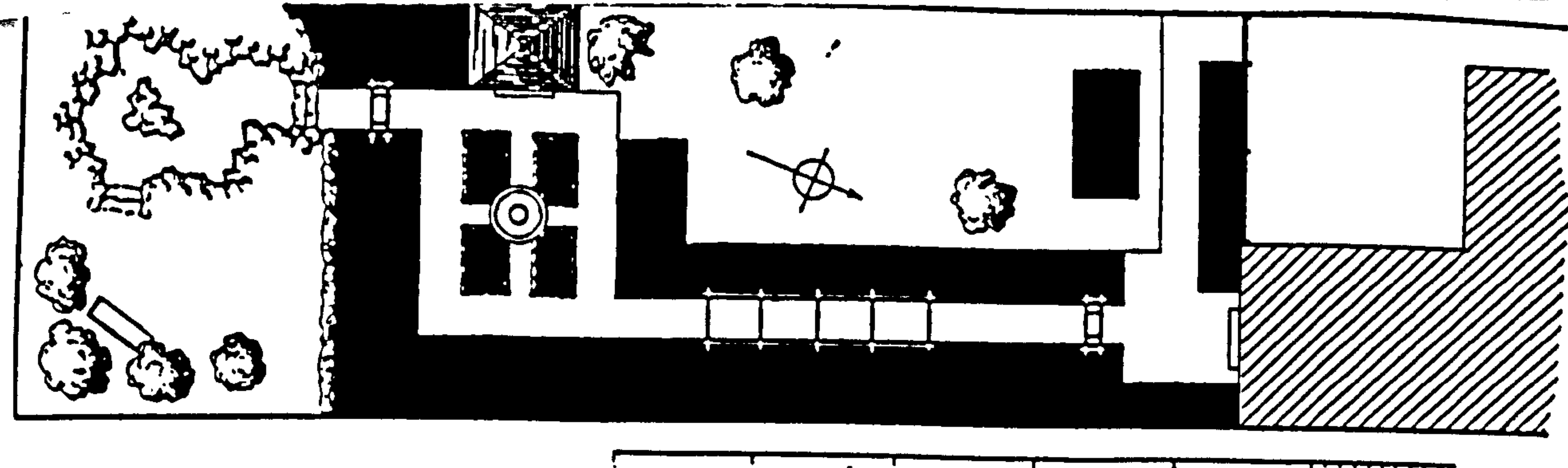


Fig. 106.

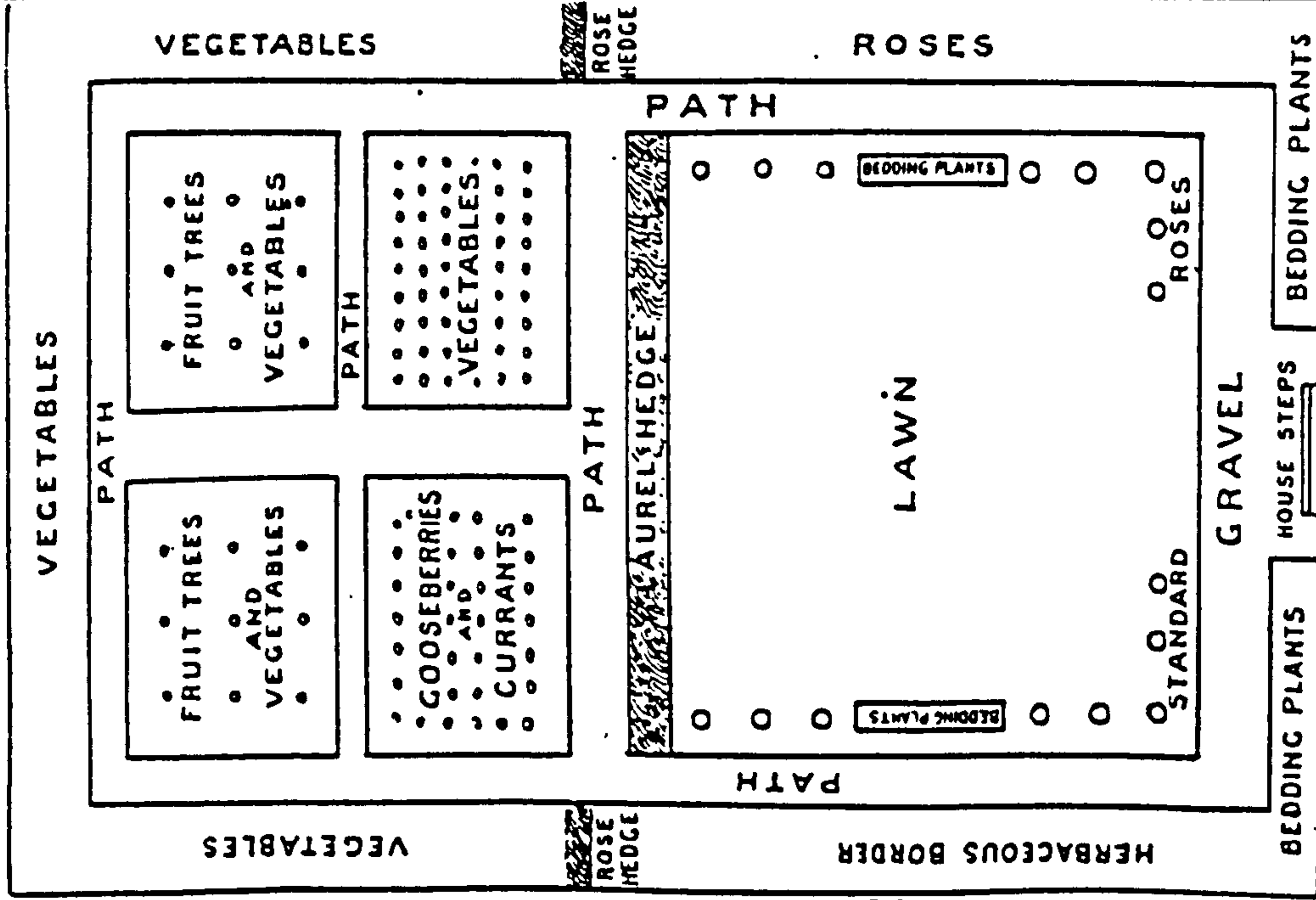


FIG. 1.—OLD FASHIONED METHOD OF LAYING OUT A GARDEN.

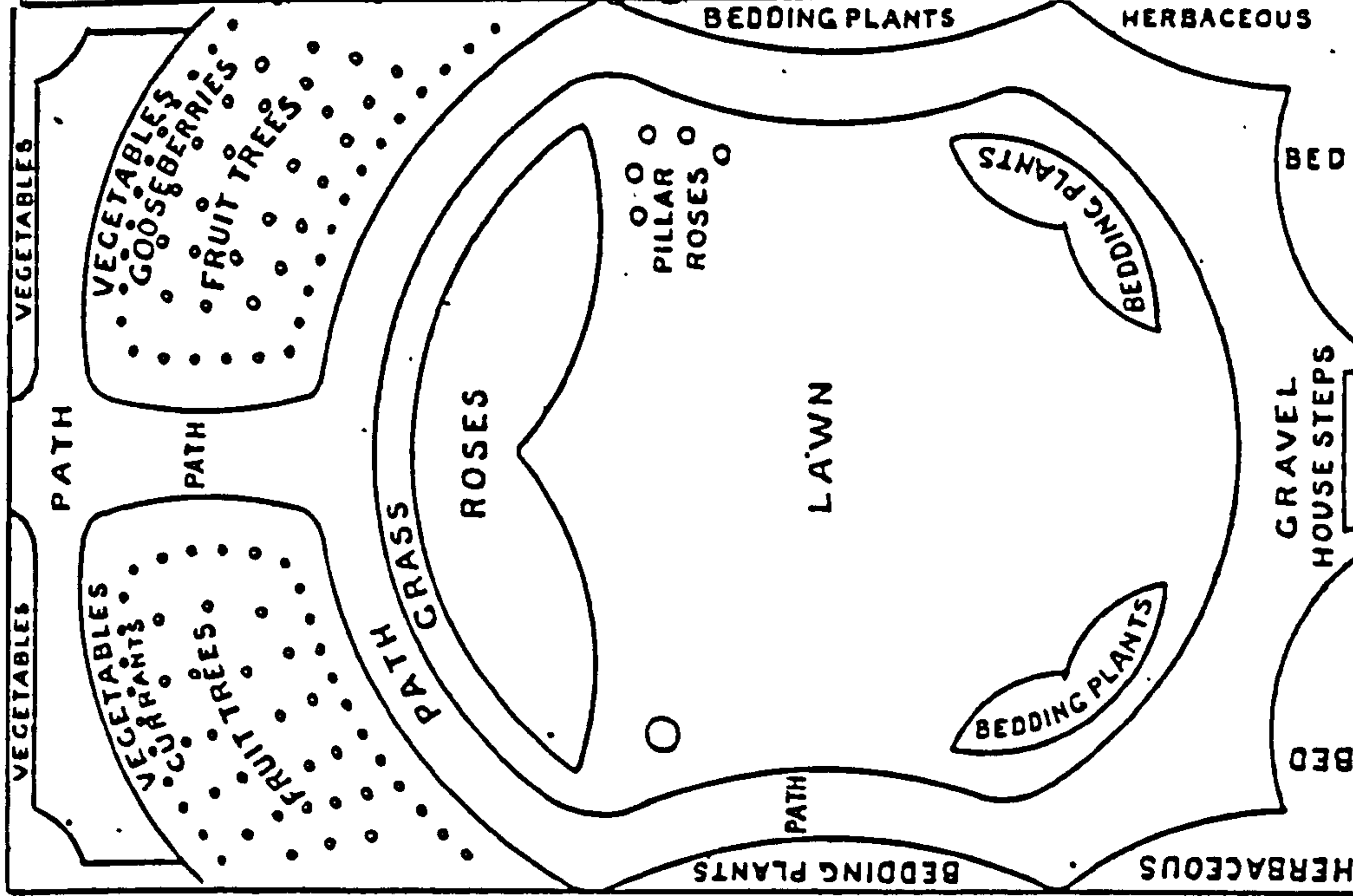


FIG. 2.—AN ORNAMENTAL DESIGN.

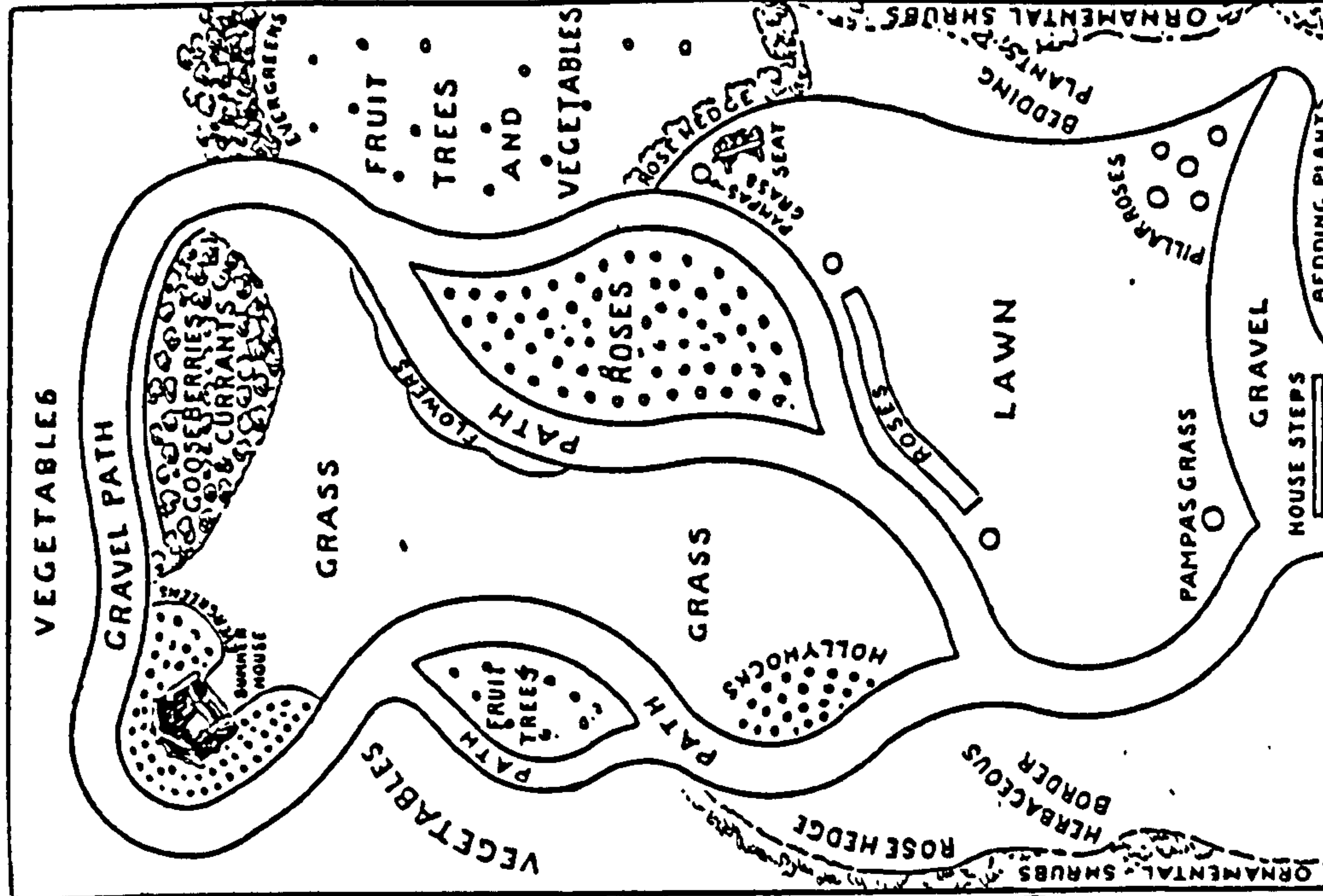
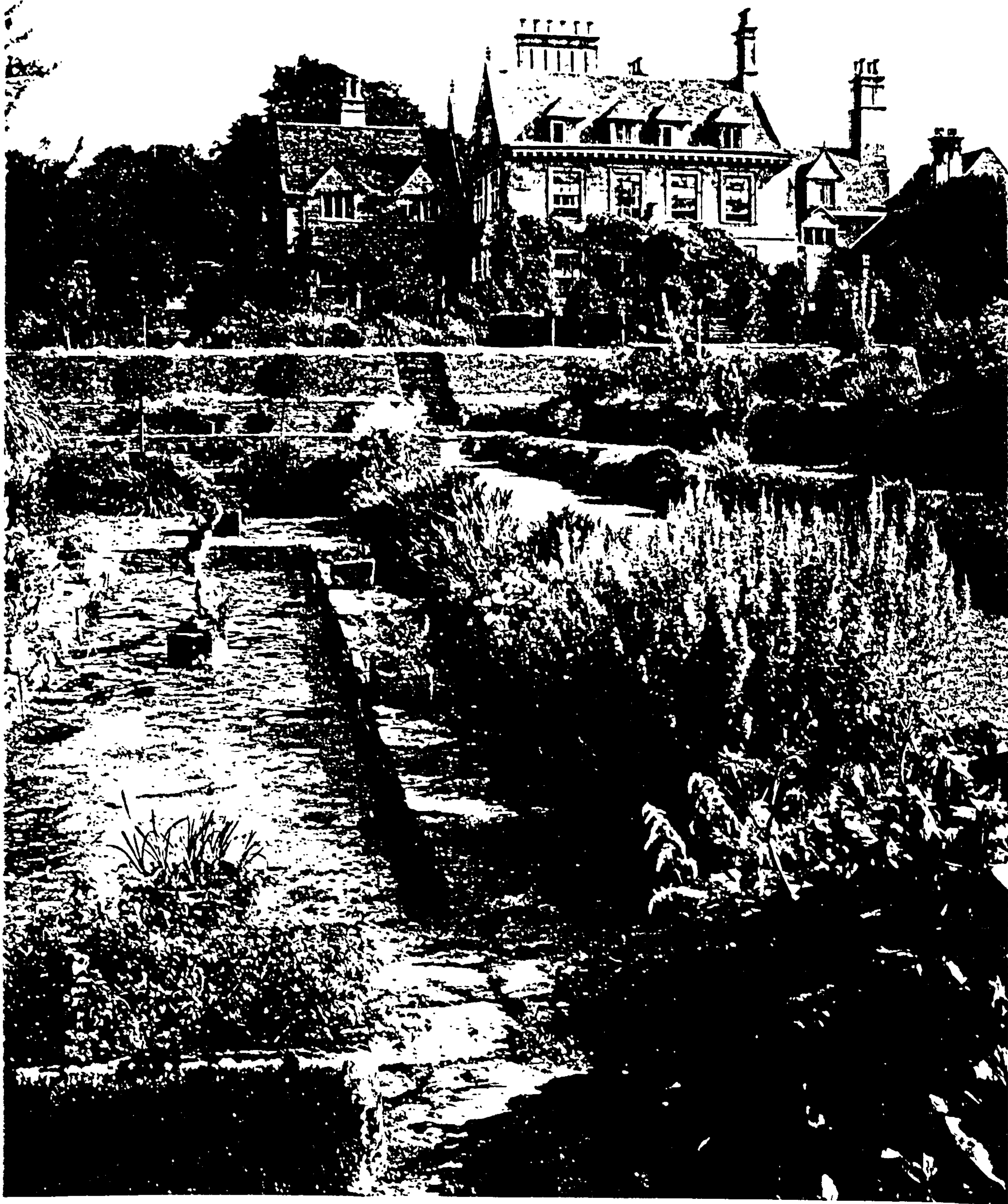


FIG. 3.—AN IRREGULAR GARDEN PLAN.

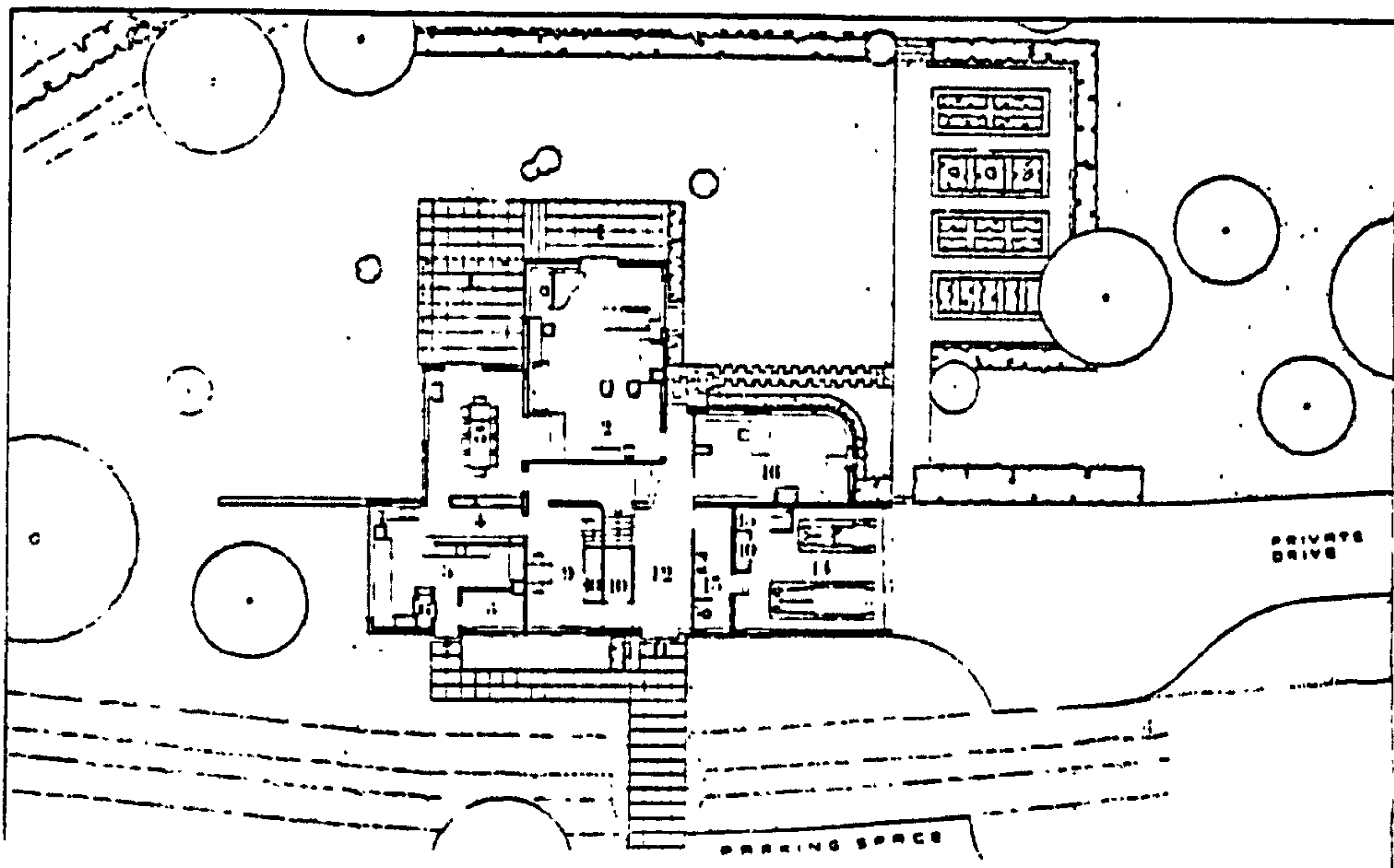
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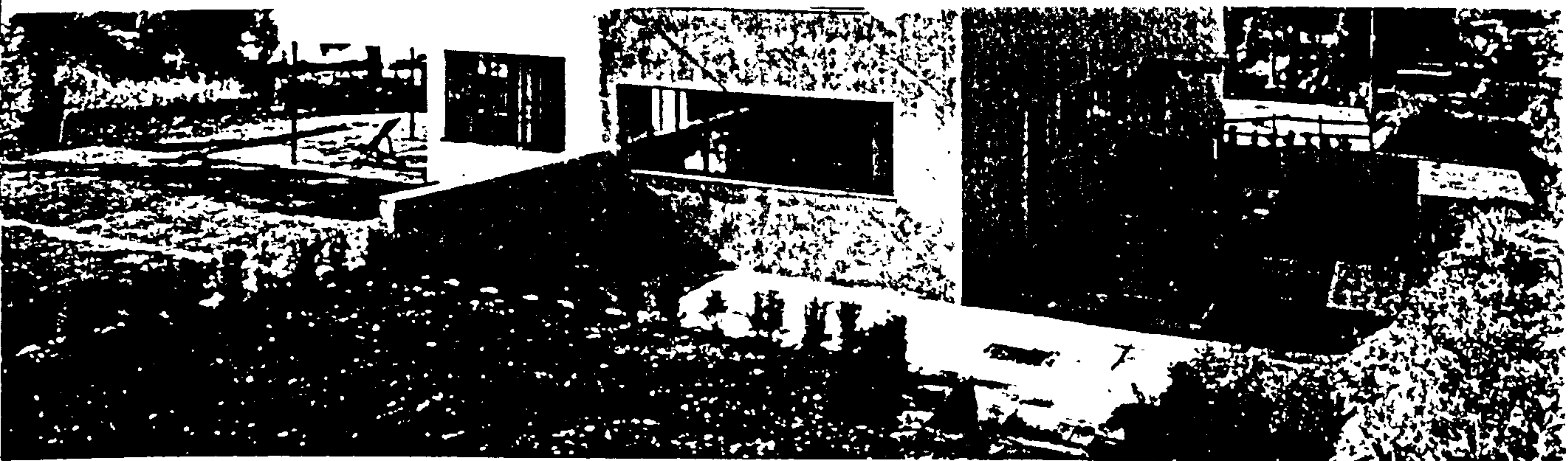


FROM THE END OF THE POOL.
53. North Luffenham Hall.

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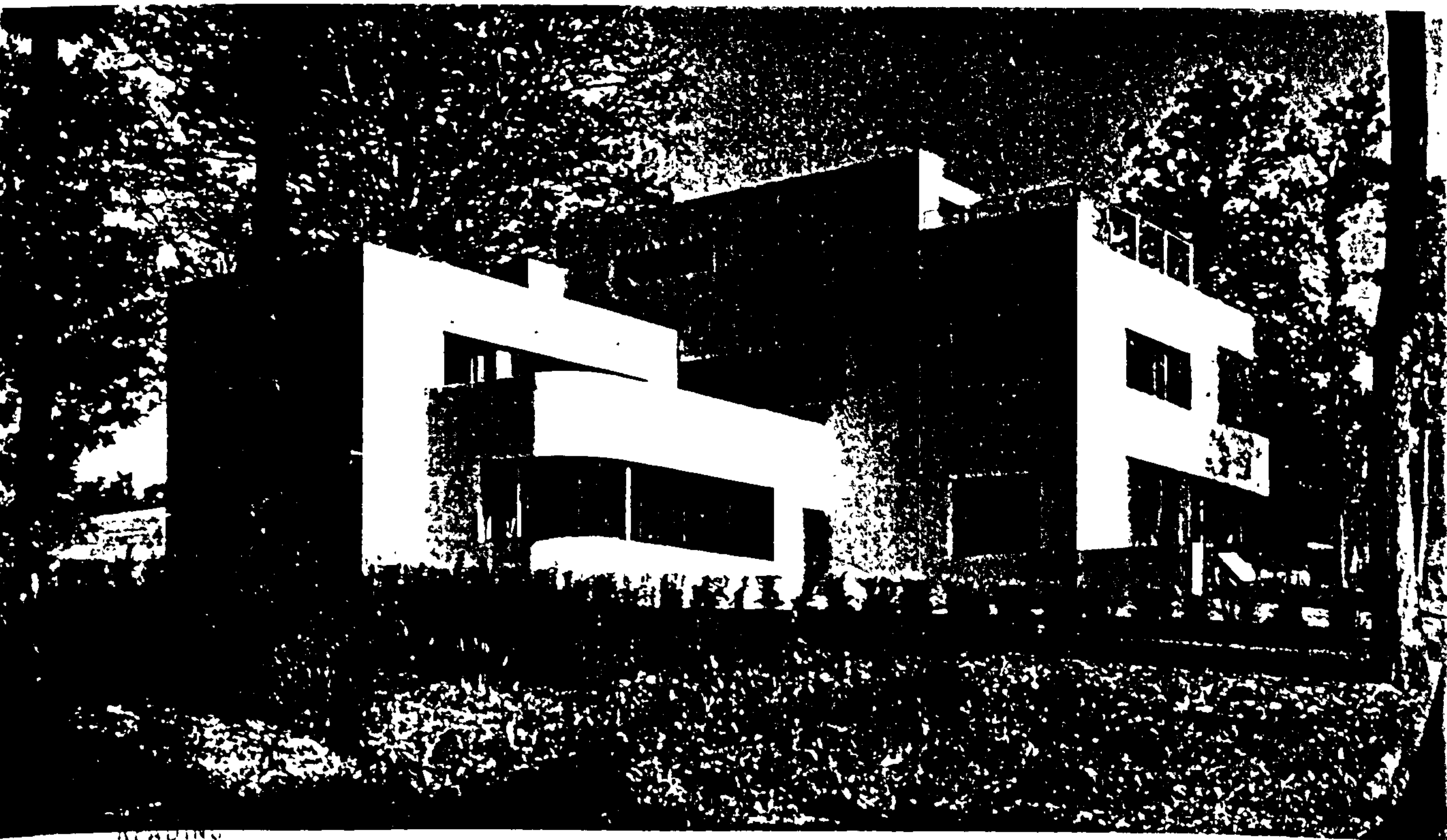


54 & 55. High Cross Hill.



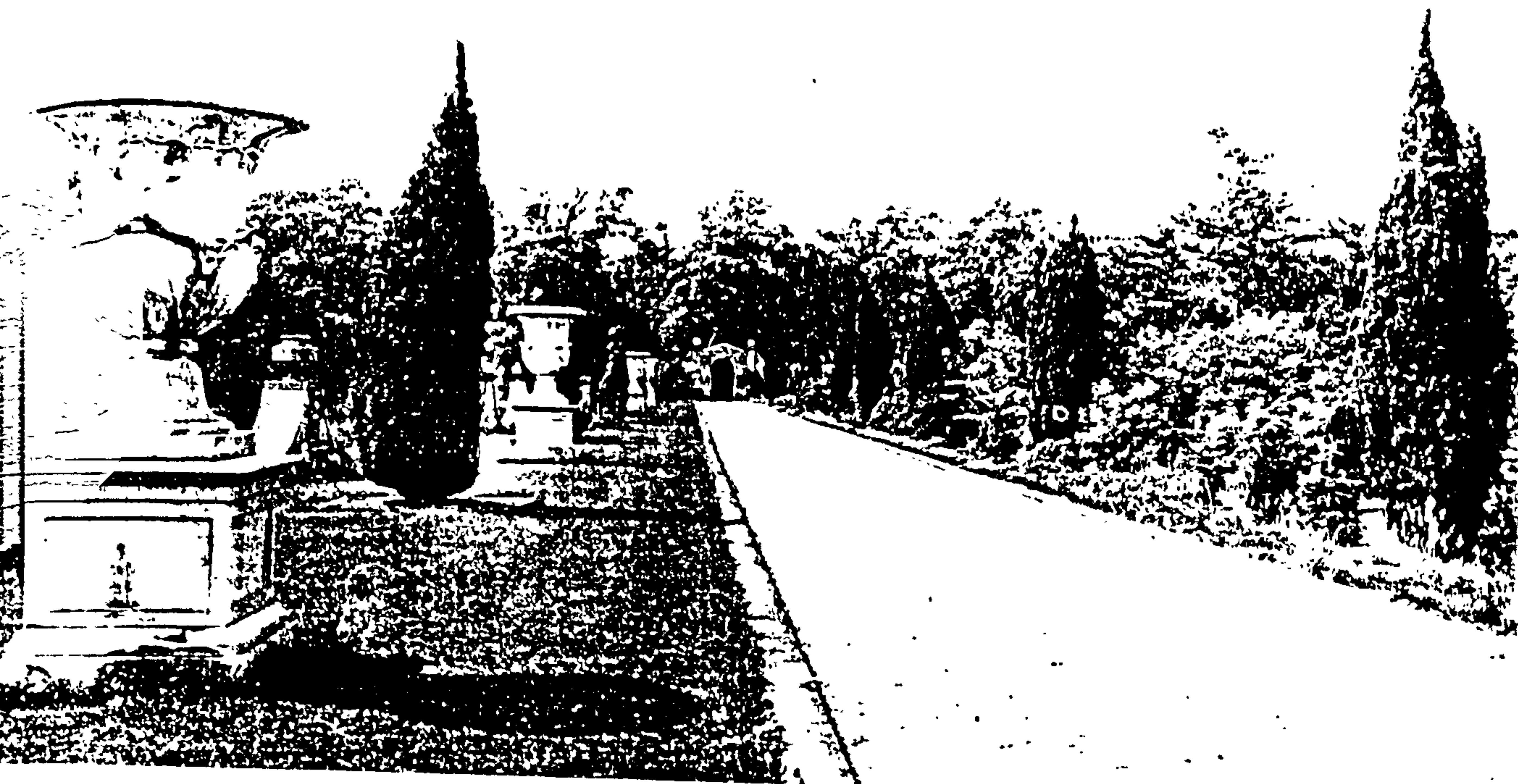
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3.—FROM THE EAST, WITH THE ENTRANCE FRONT ON THE RIGHT



4.—FROM THE WOOD THAT LIES SOUTH-WEST OF THE HOUSE

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THE TERRACE WALK.

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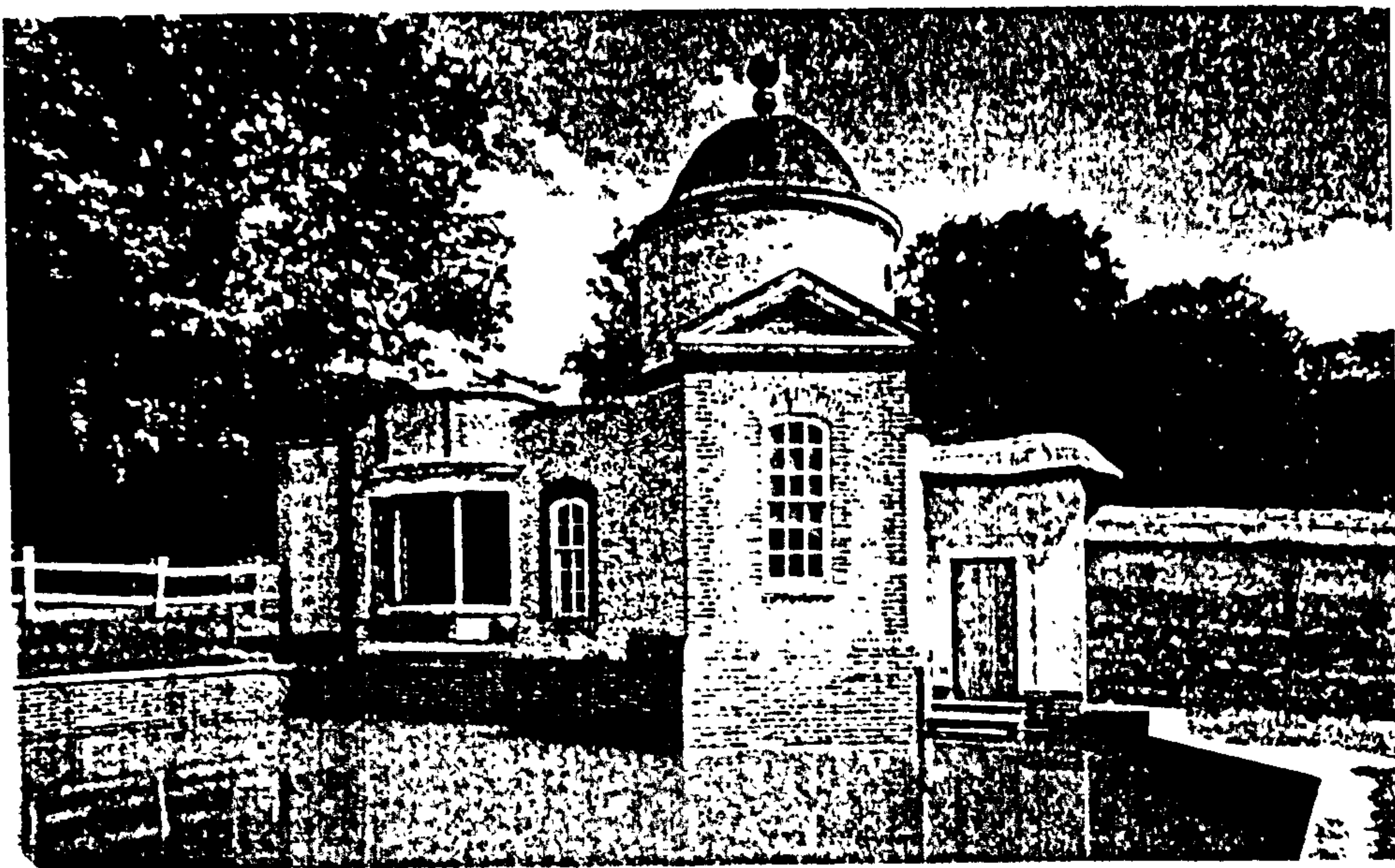


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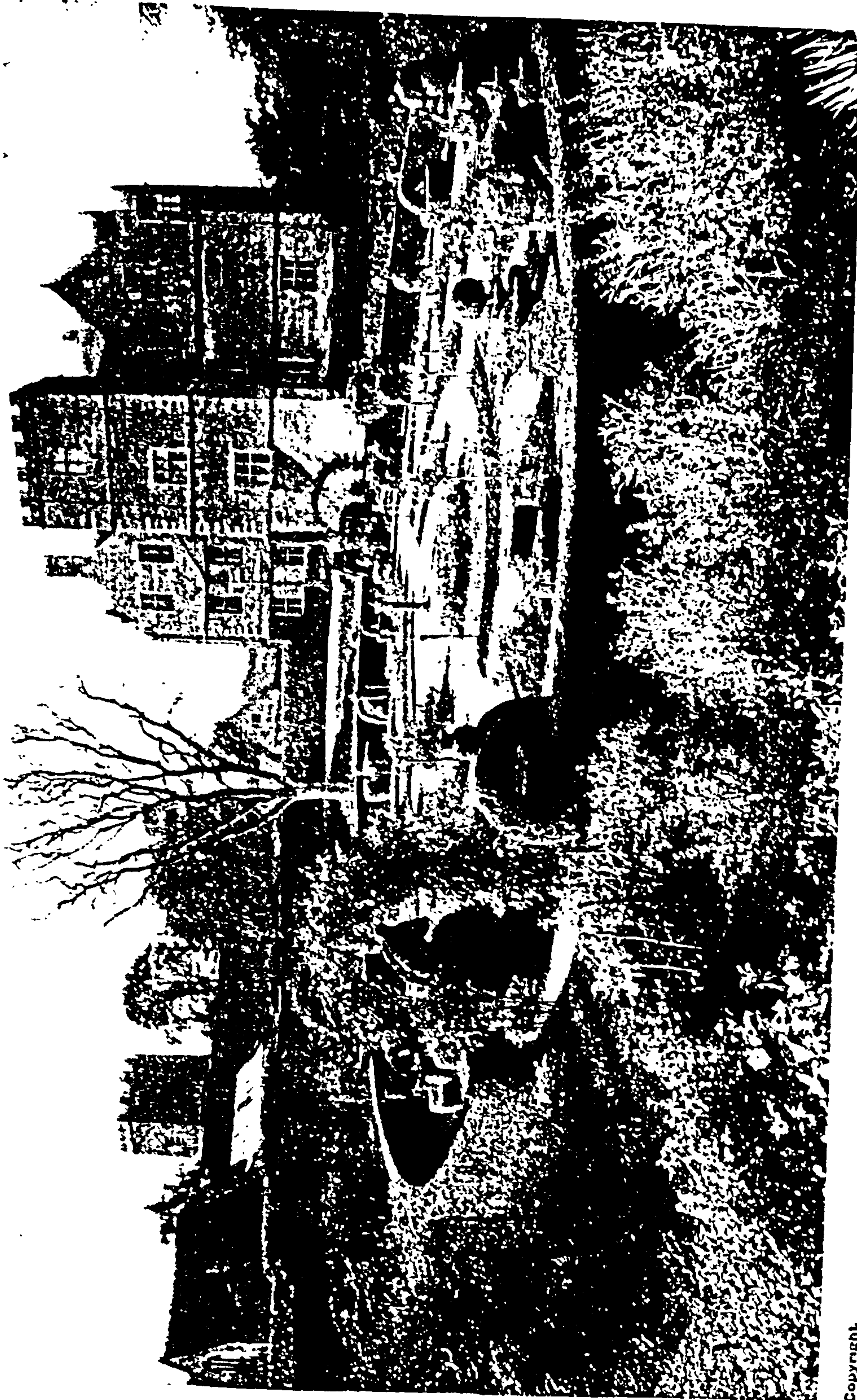
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58 & 59. Halnaby Hall.



10.—THE OLD GARDEN ADJOINING THE HOUSE TO THE NORTH

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THE CIRCULAR ROSE GARDEN.

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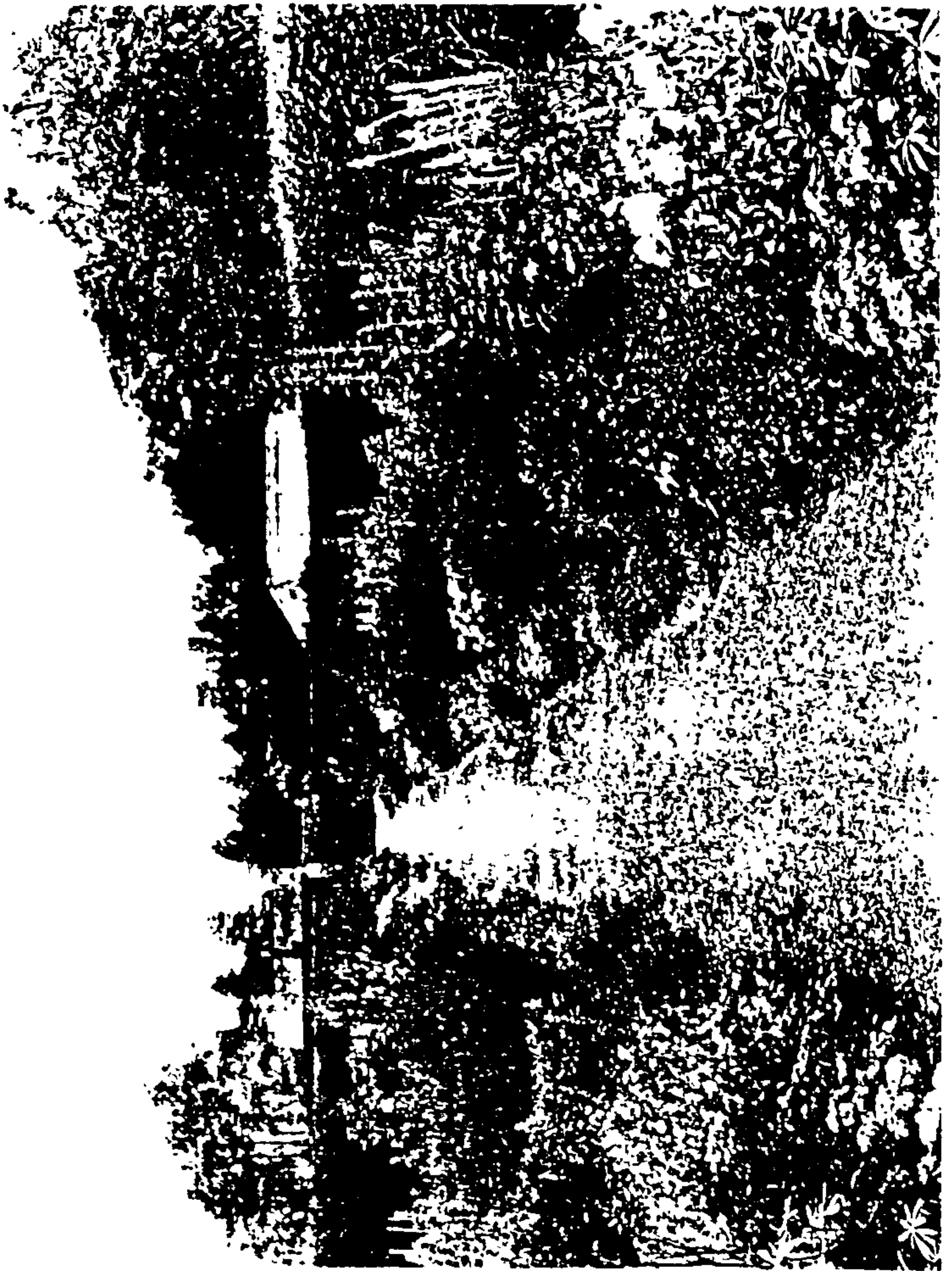




66 - 68.



Coppins.



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THE ENTRANCE PATHWAY.

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69. The Old House.

70. Heath Hook Farm.

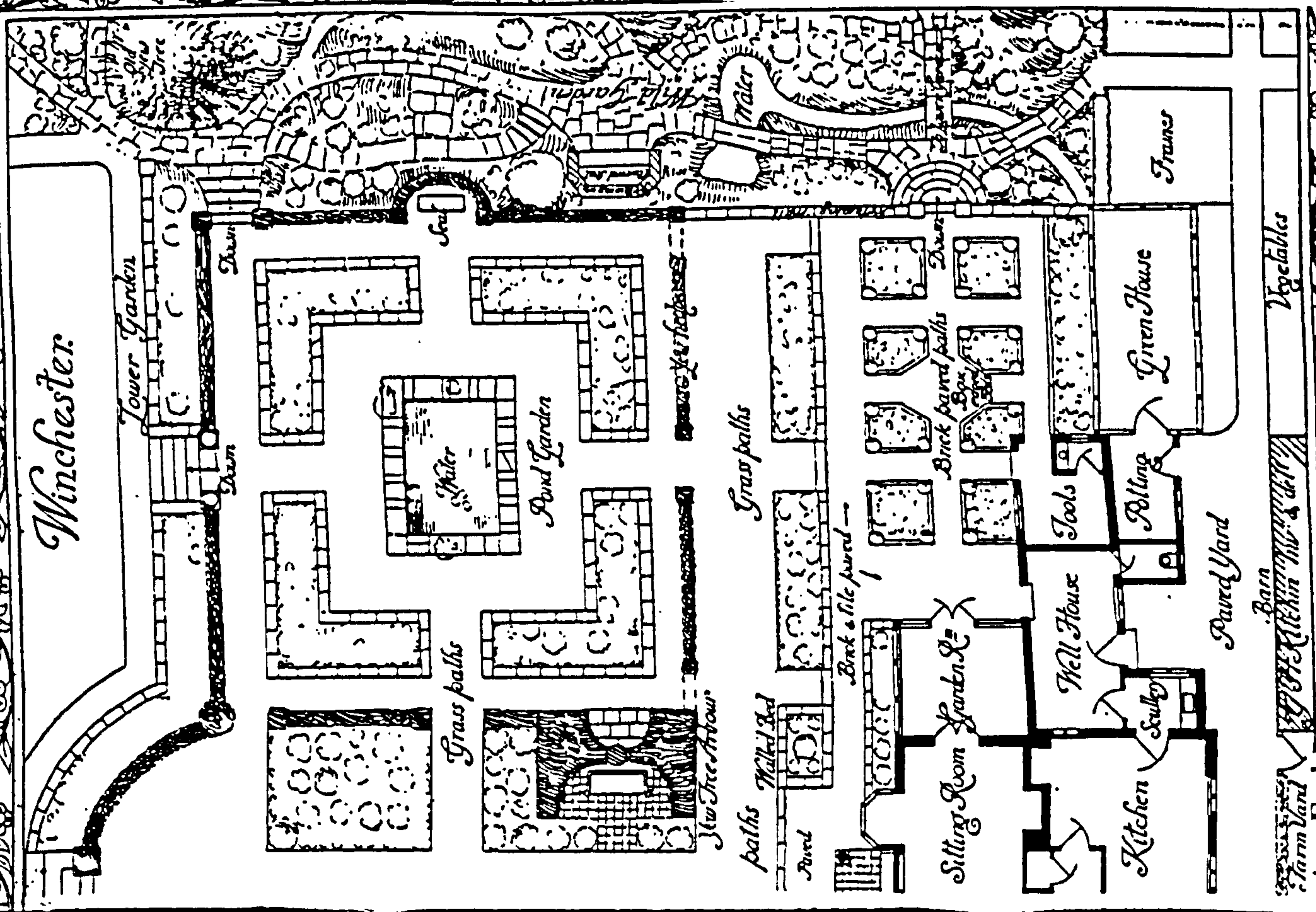
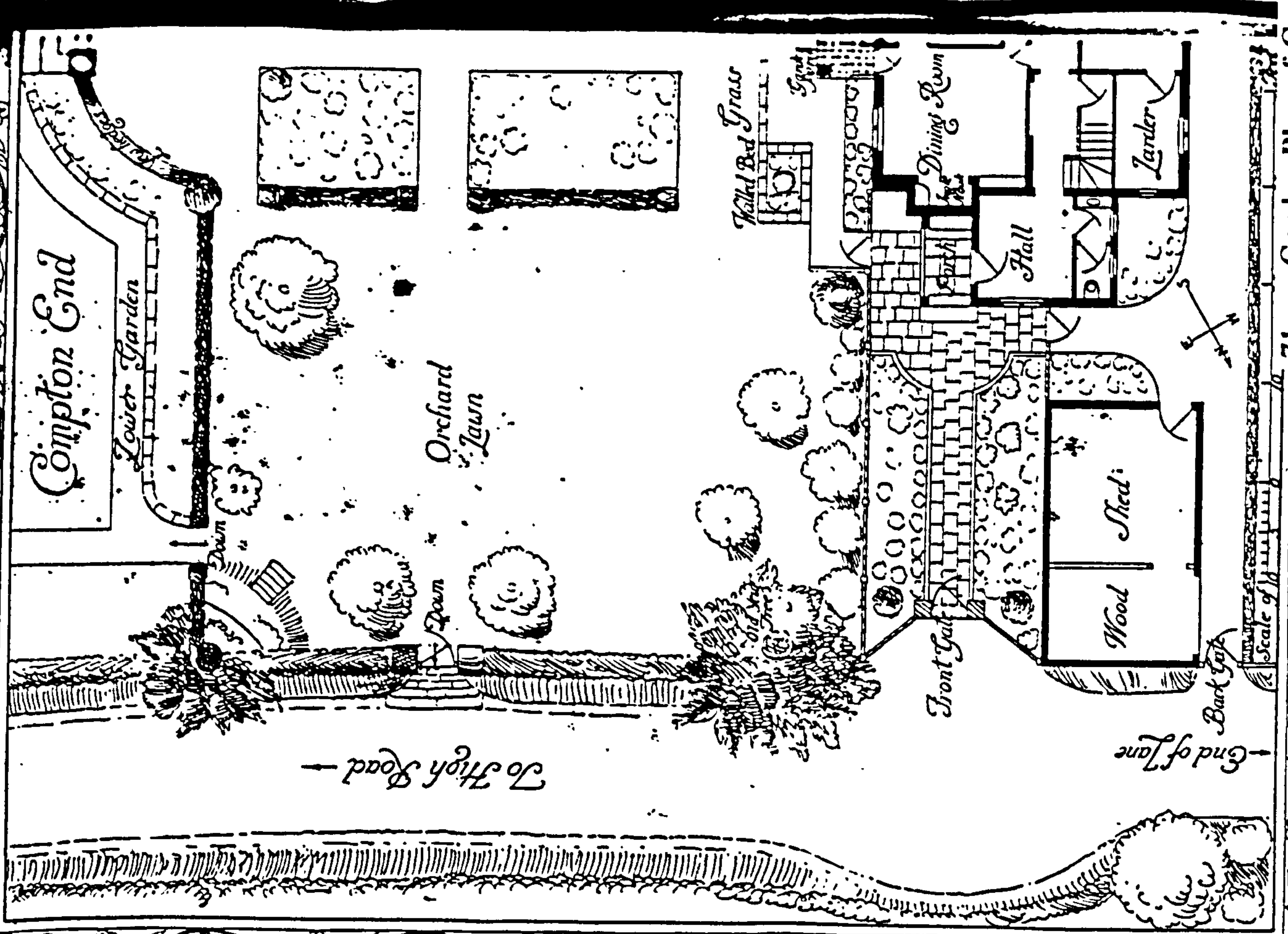


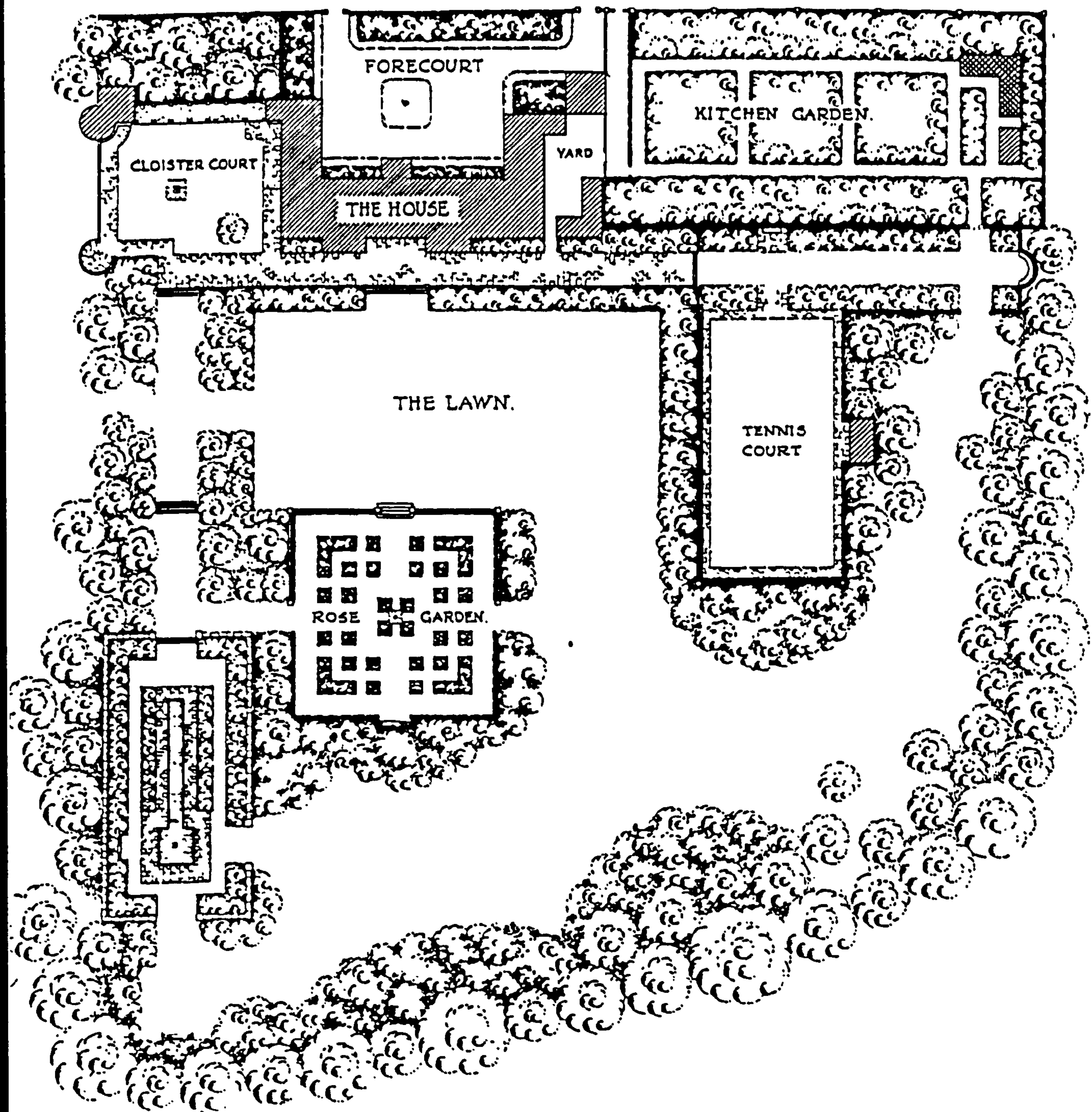
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FROM THE EAST, SHOWING LILY POND.

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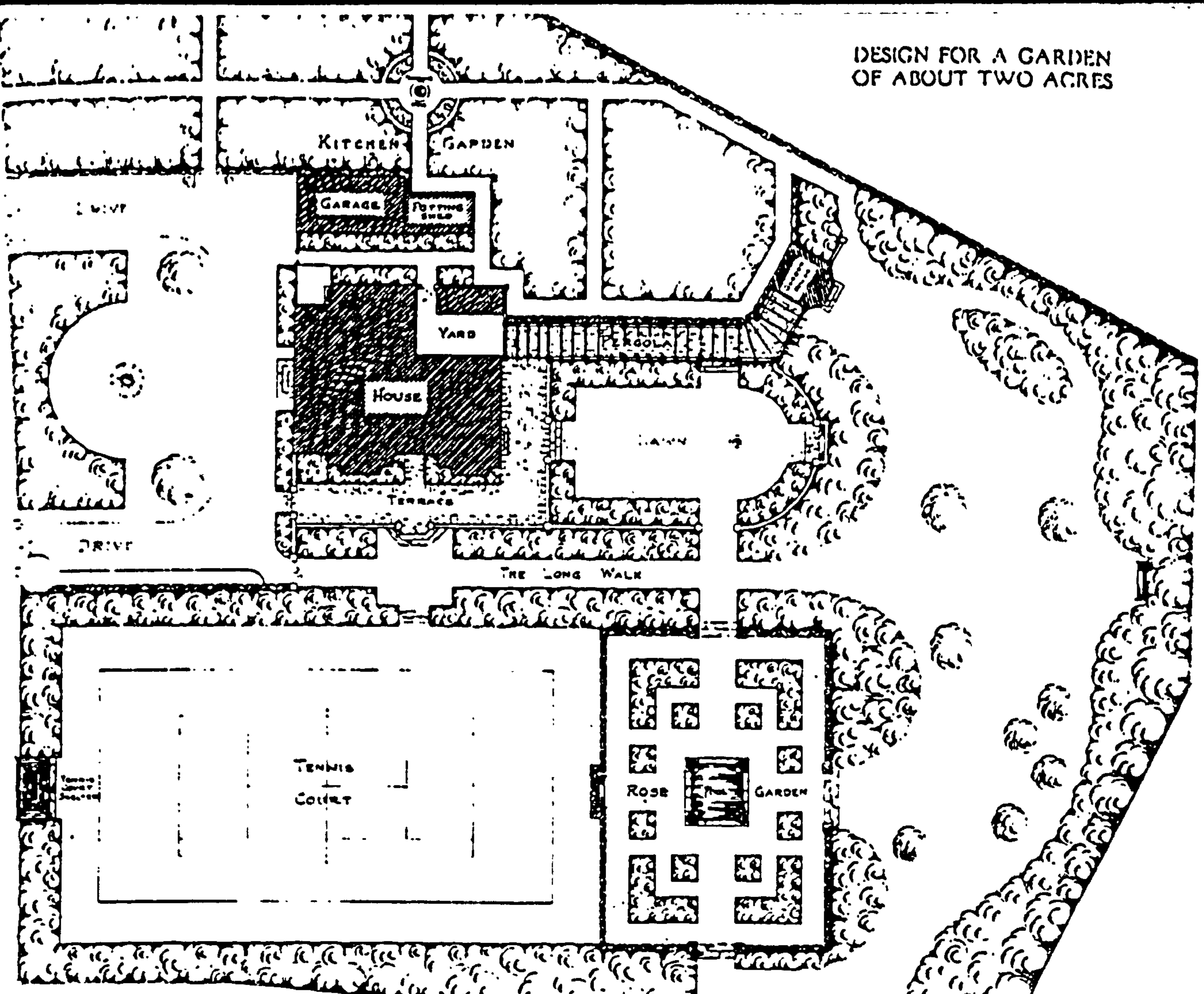




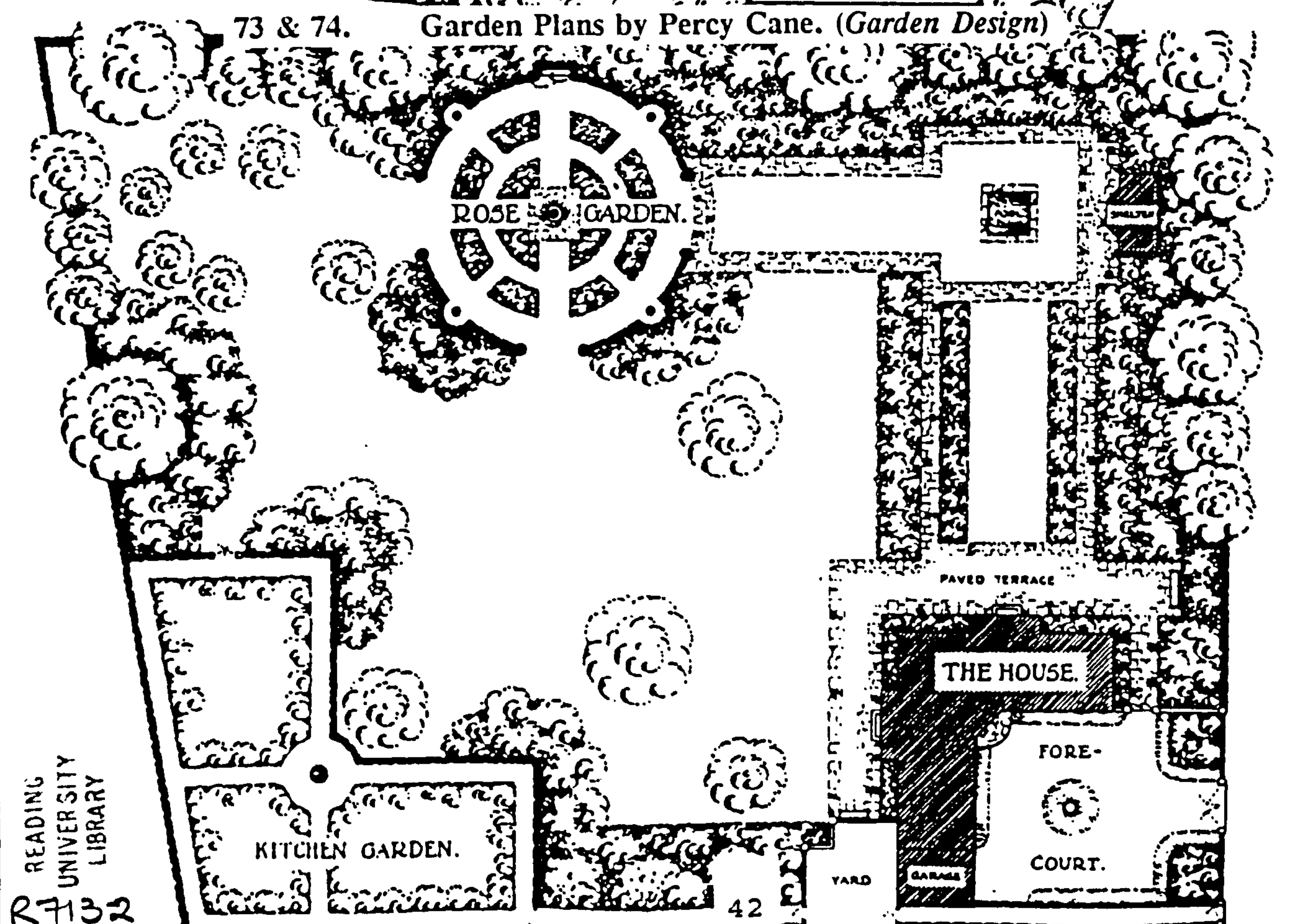
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(PLAN B)

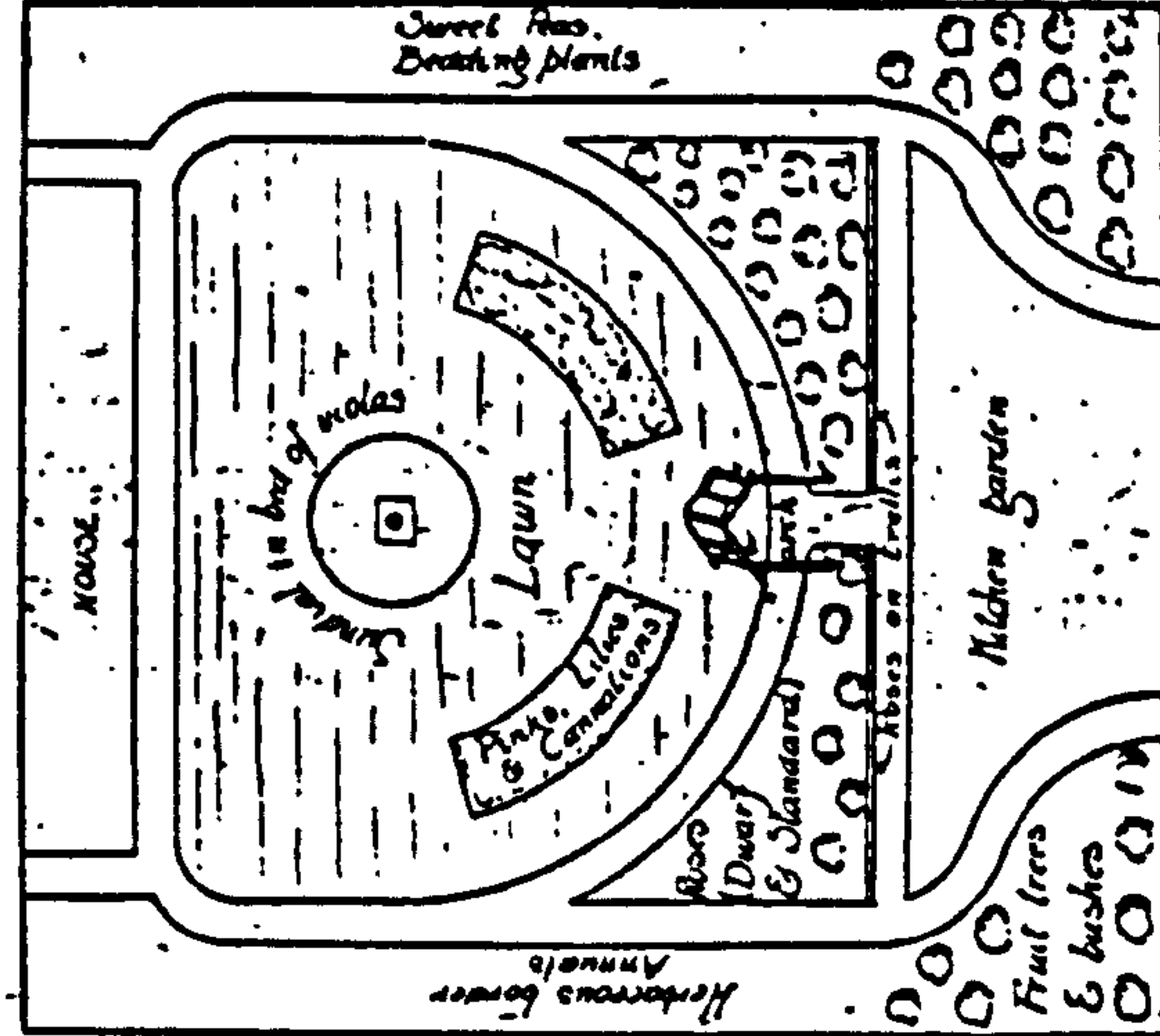
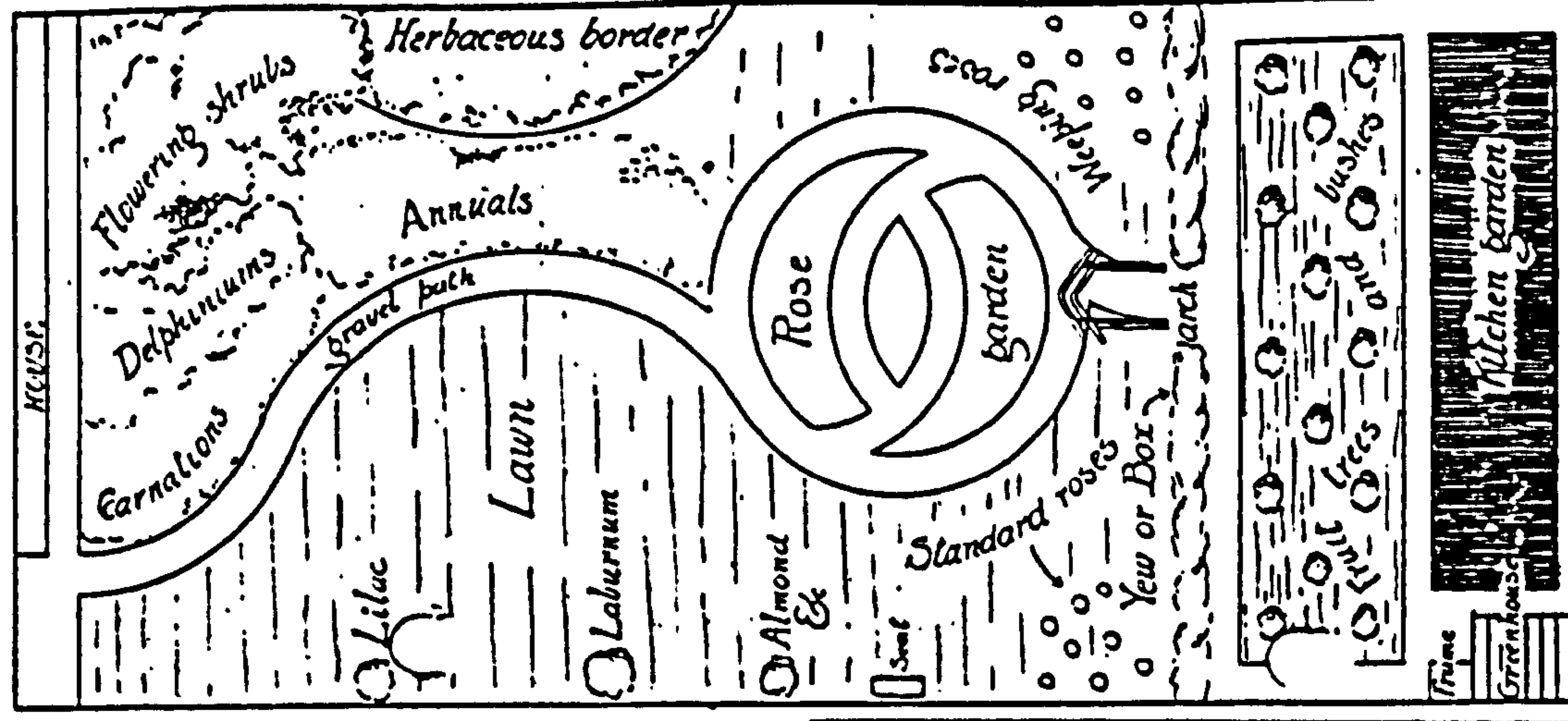
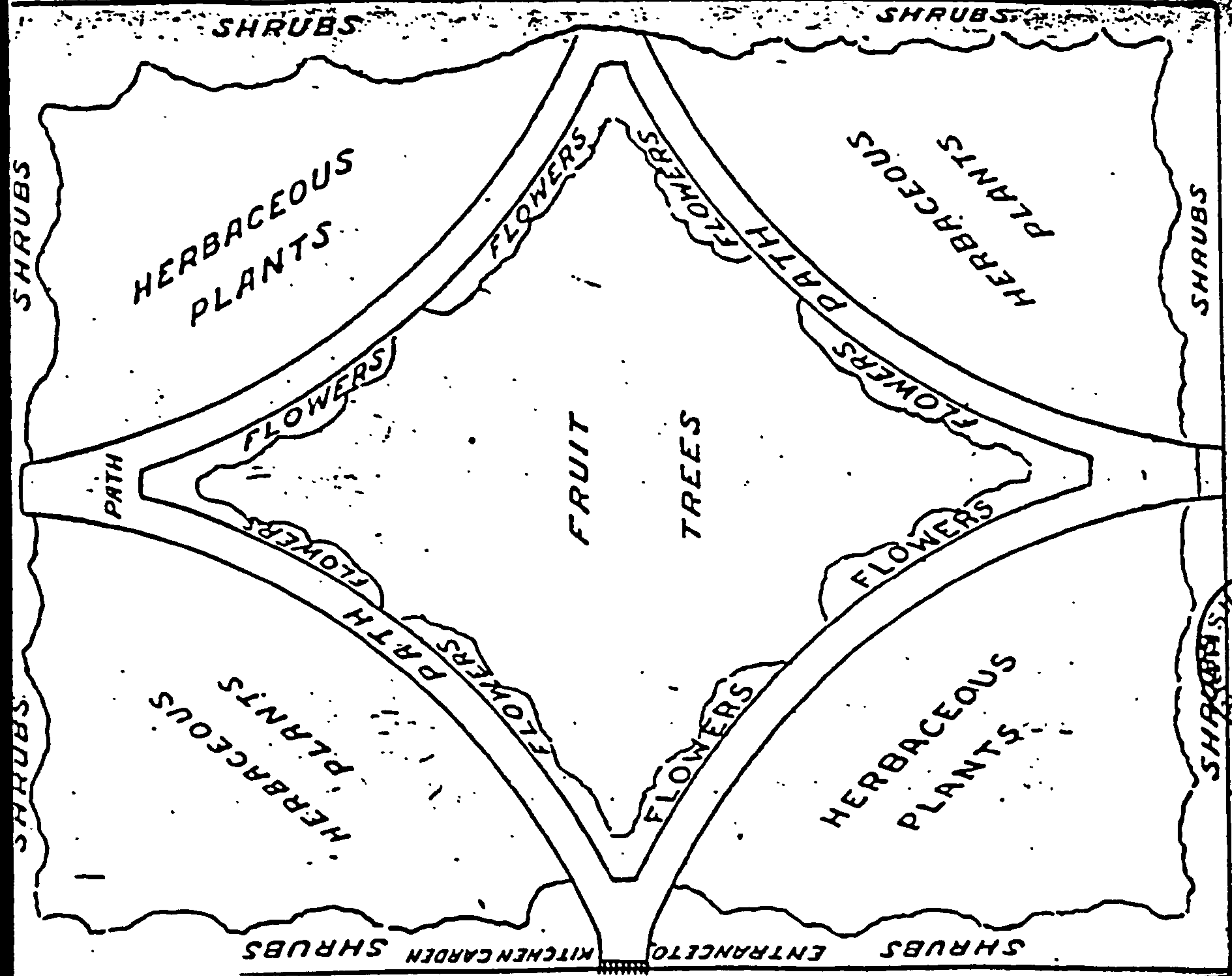
72. Garden Plans by Percy Cane. (*Garden Design*)

DESIGN FOR A GARDEN
OF ABOUT TWO ACRES



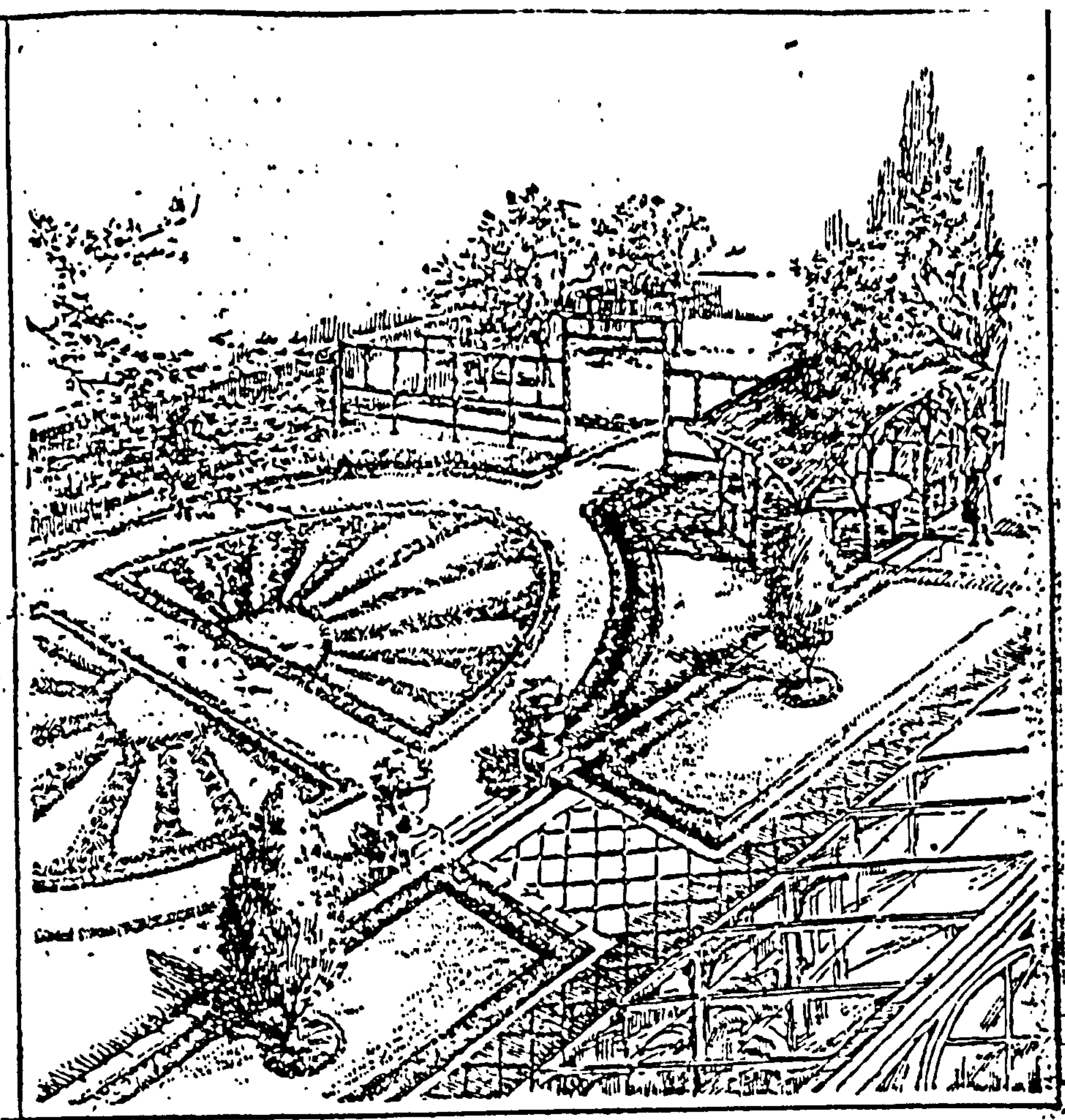
73 & 74. Garden Plans by Percy Cane. (*Garden Design*)



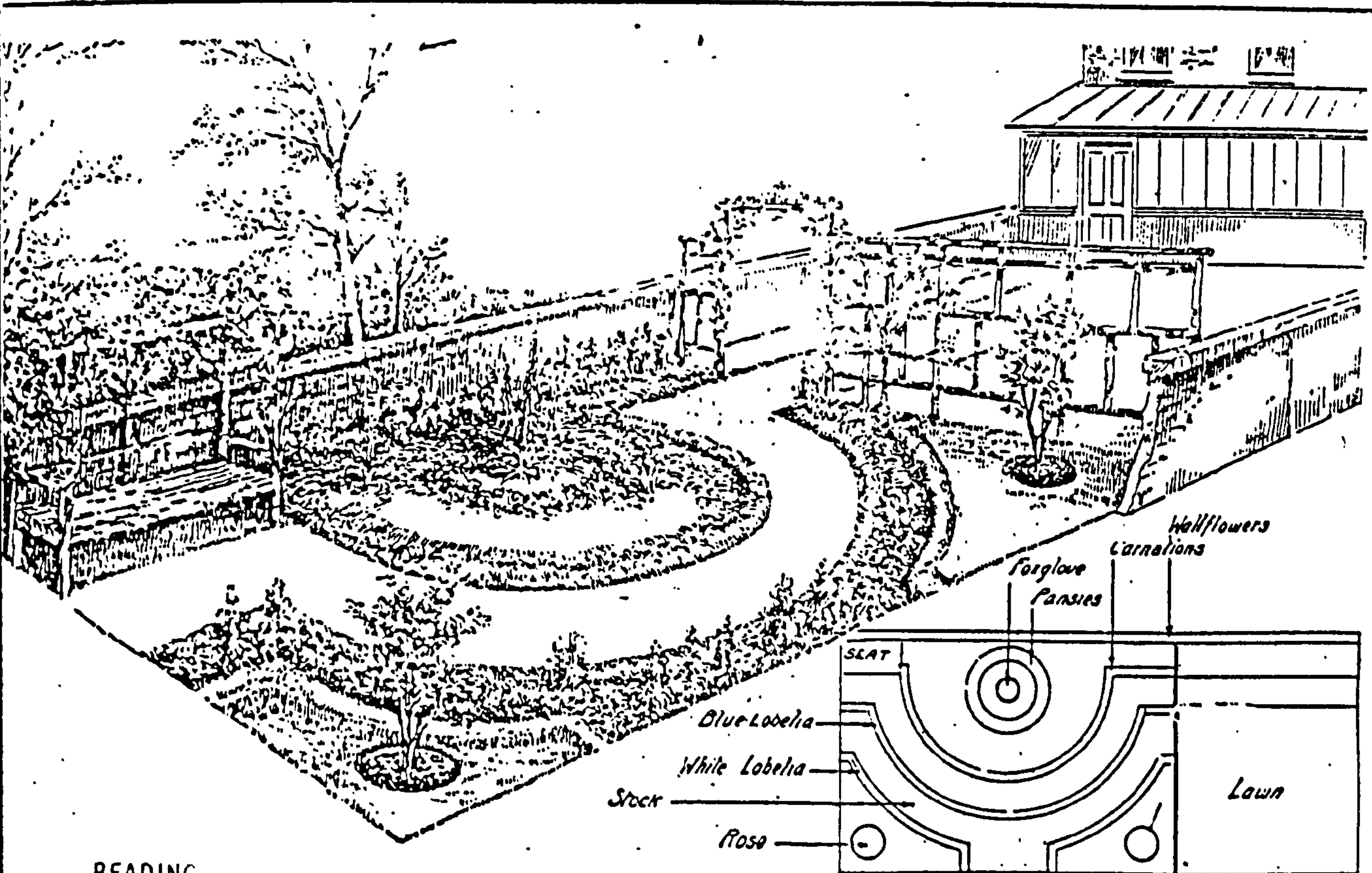


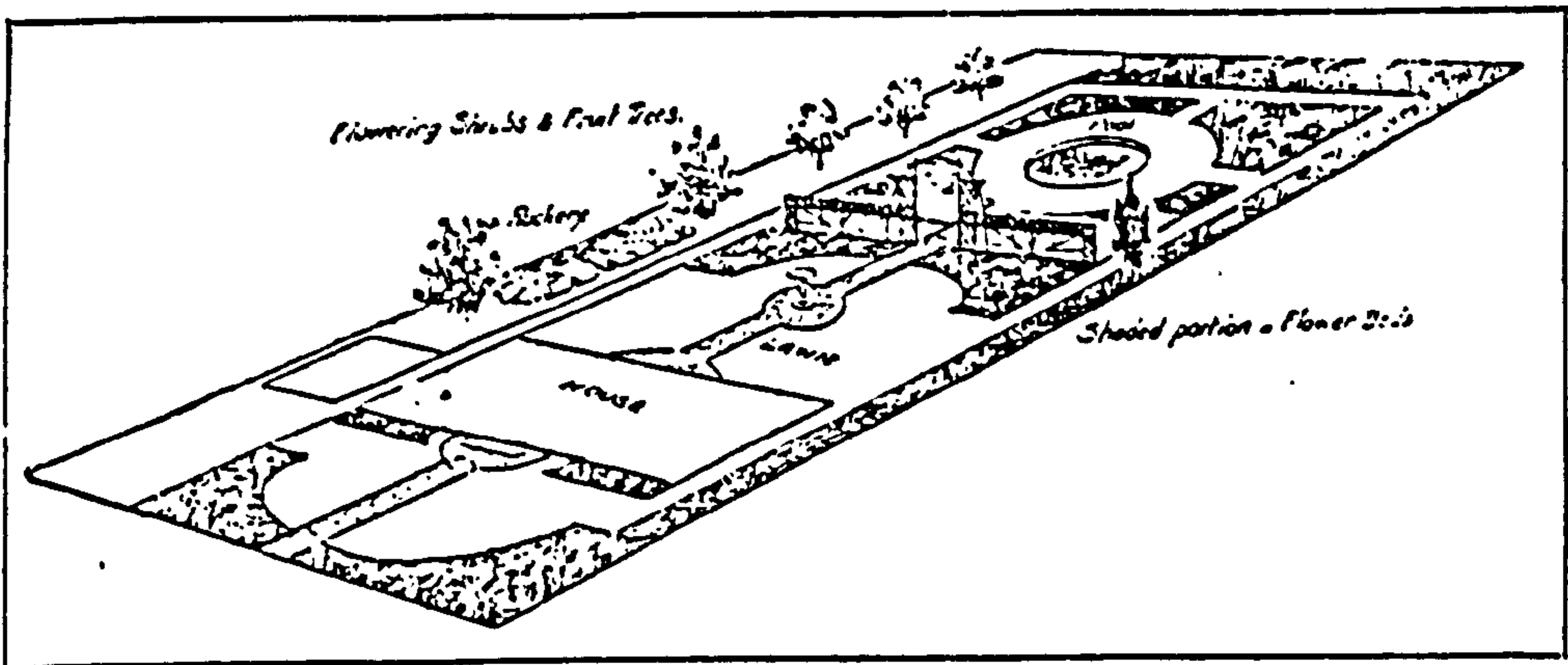
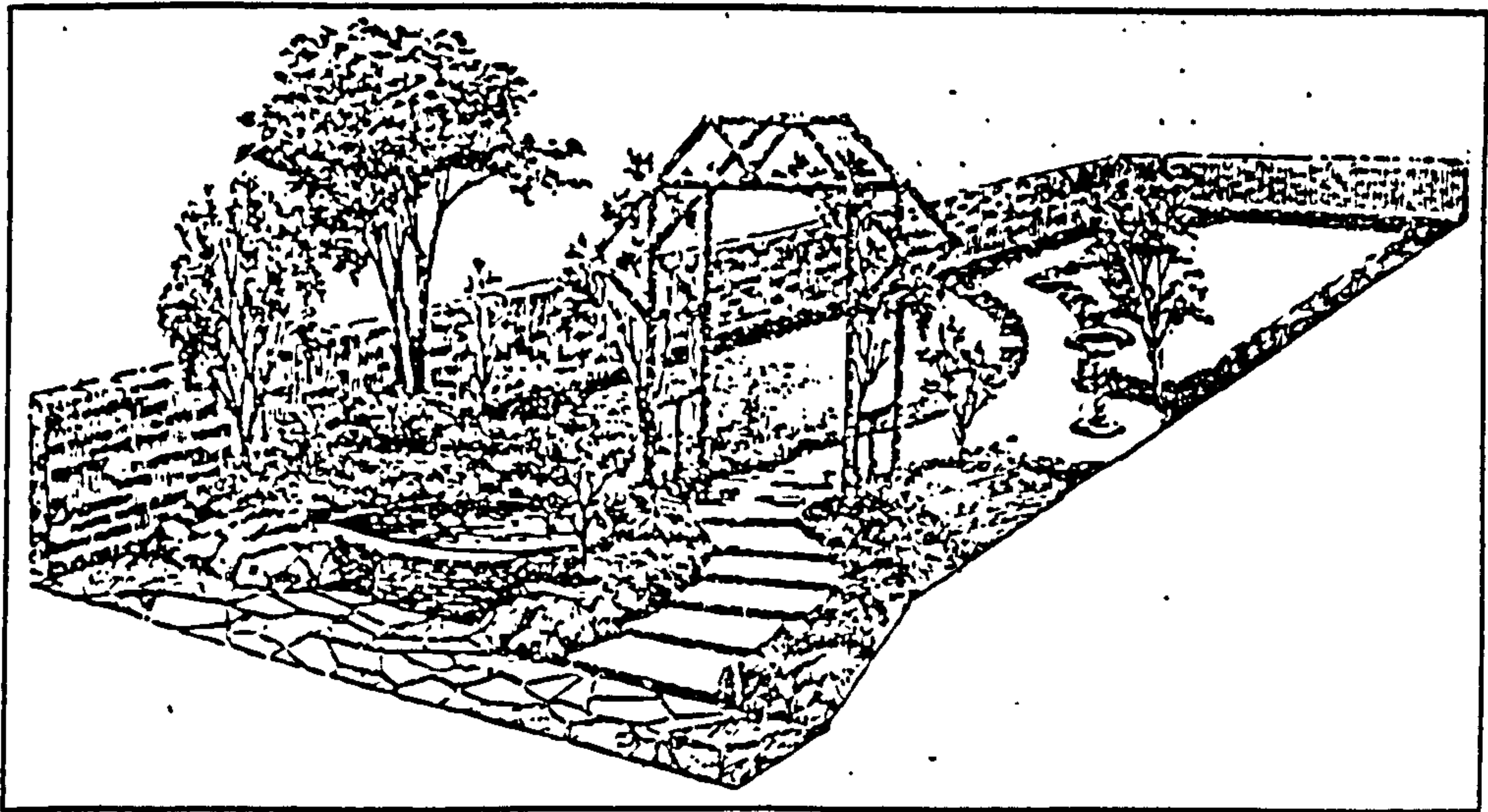
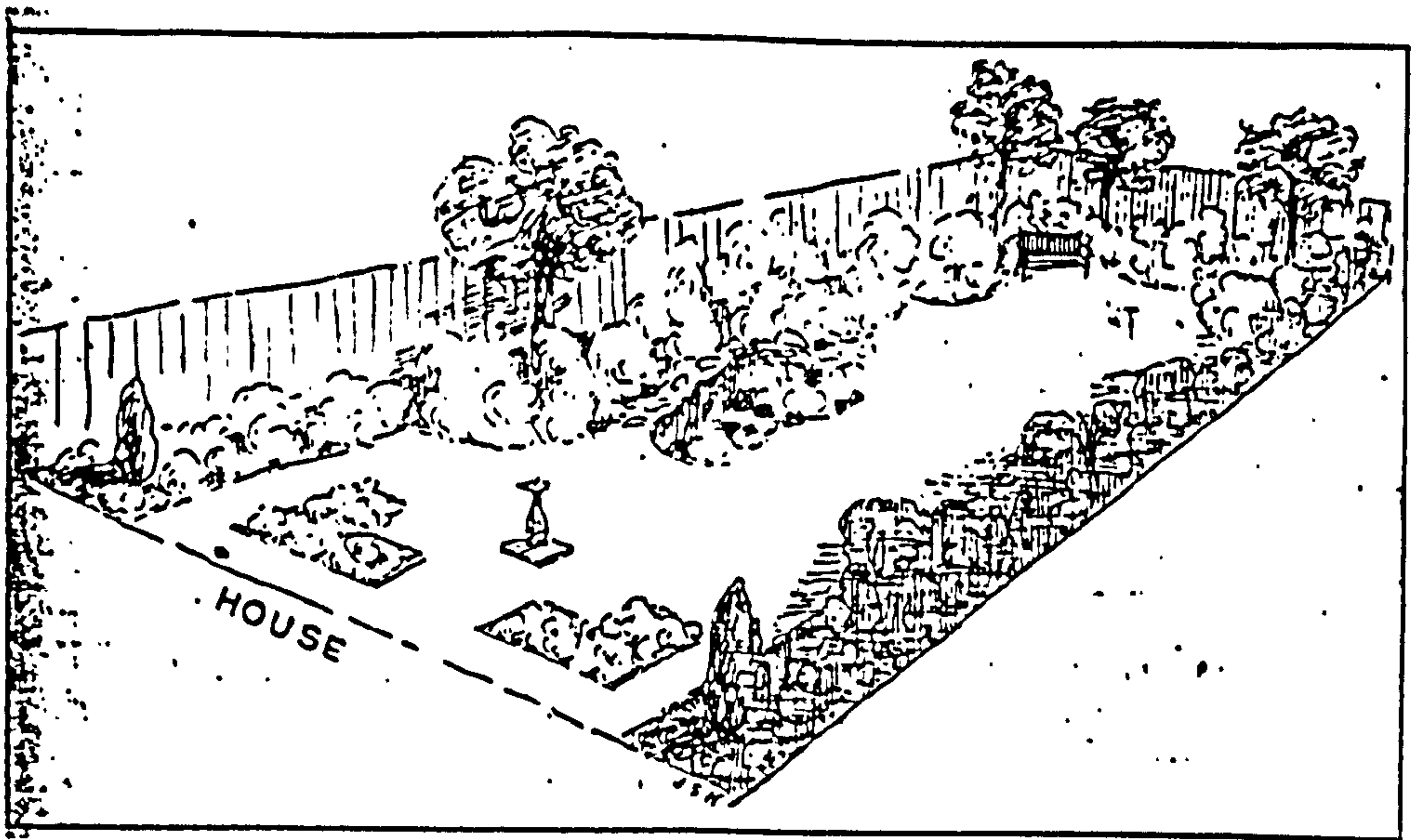
DESIGN FOR READER'S GARDEN

• A DESIGN FOR A READER'S GARDEN

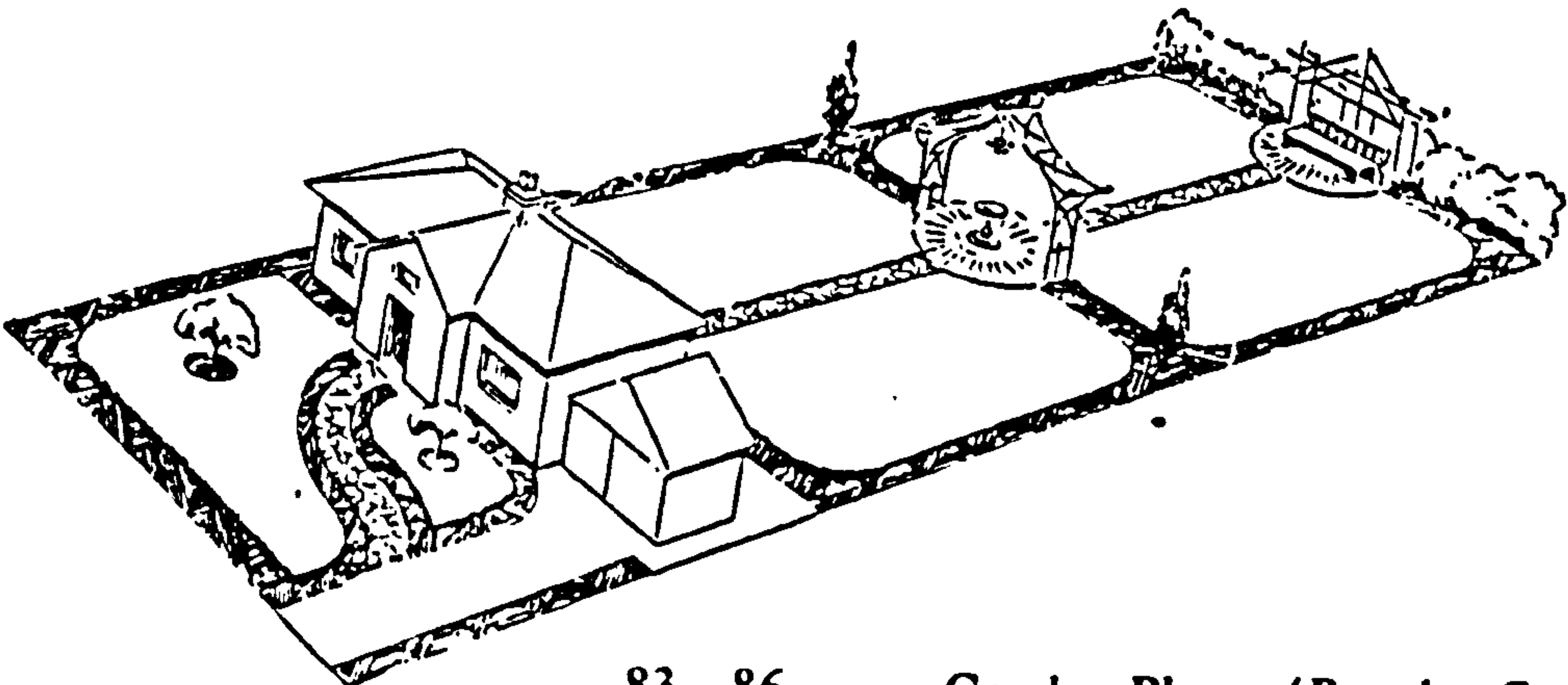
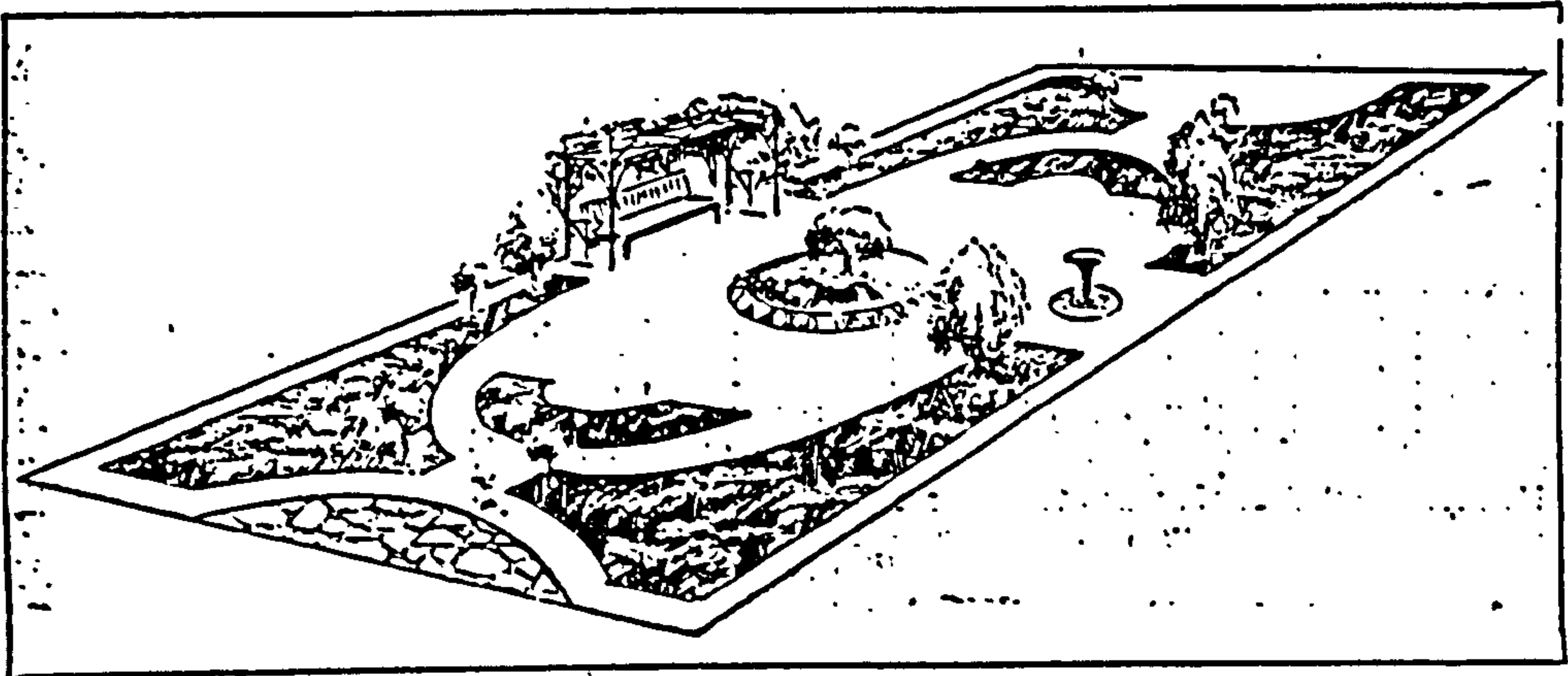
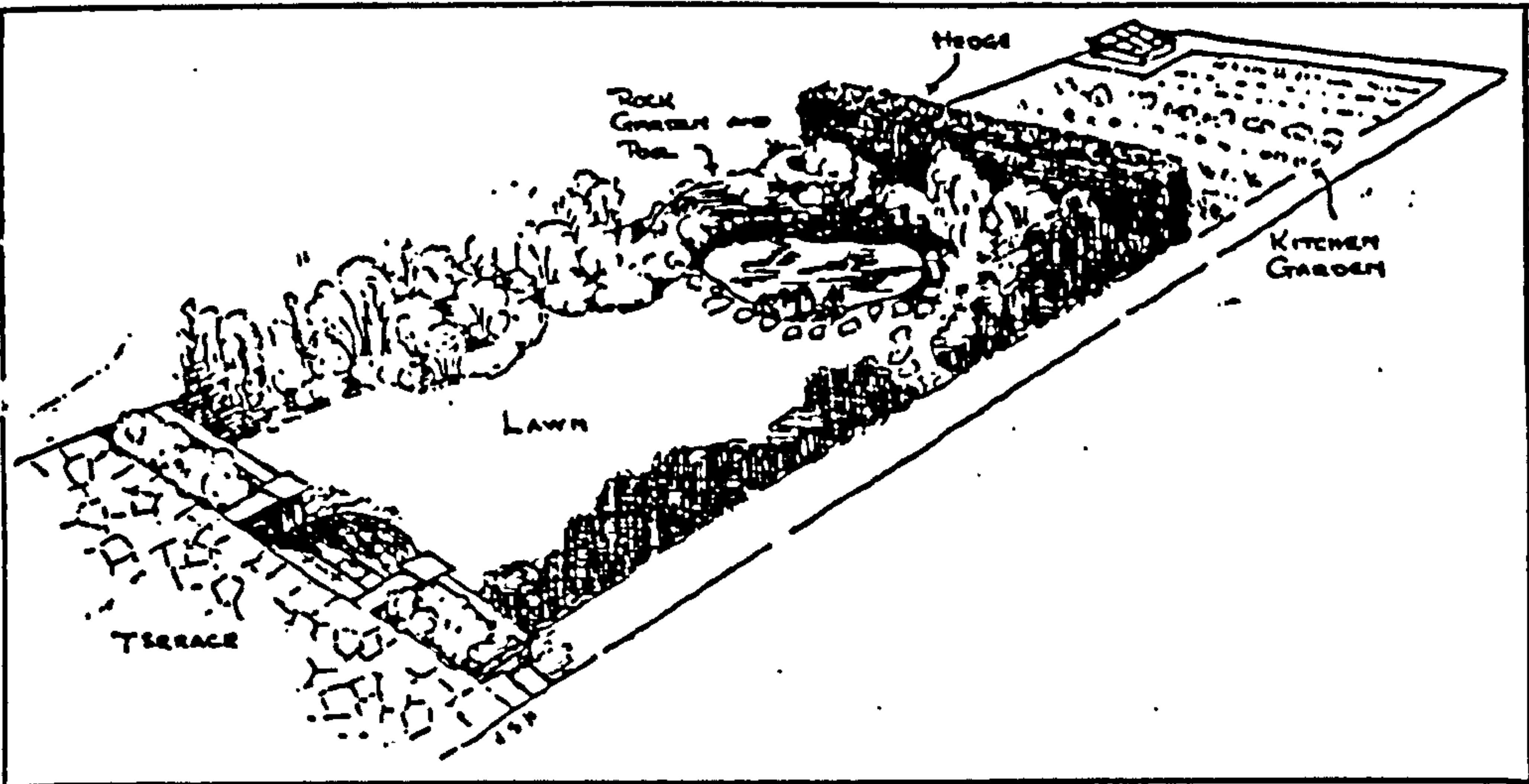
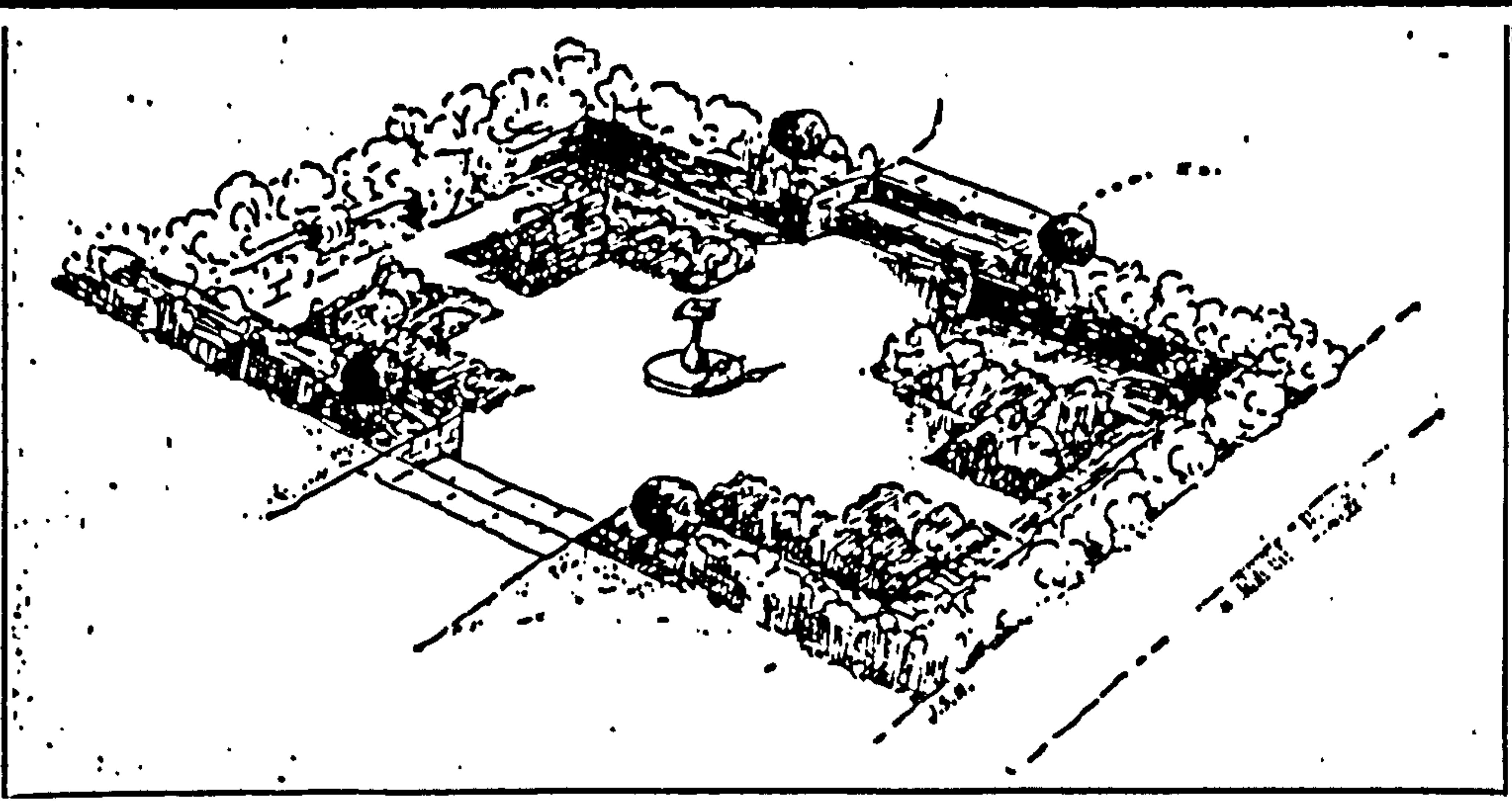


78 & 79. Garden Plans. (*Popular Gardening*)



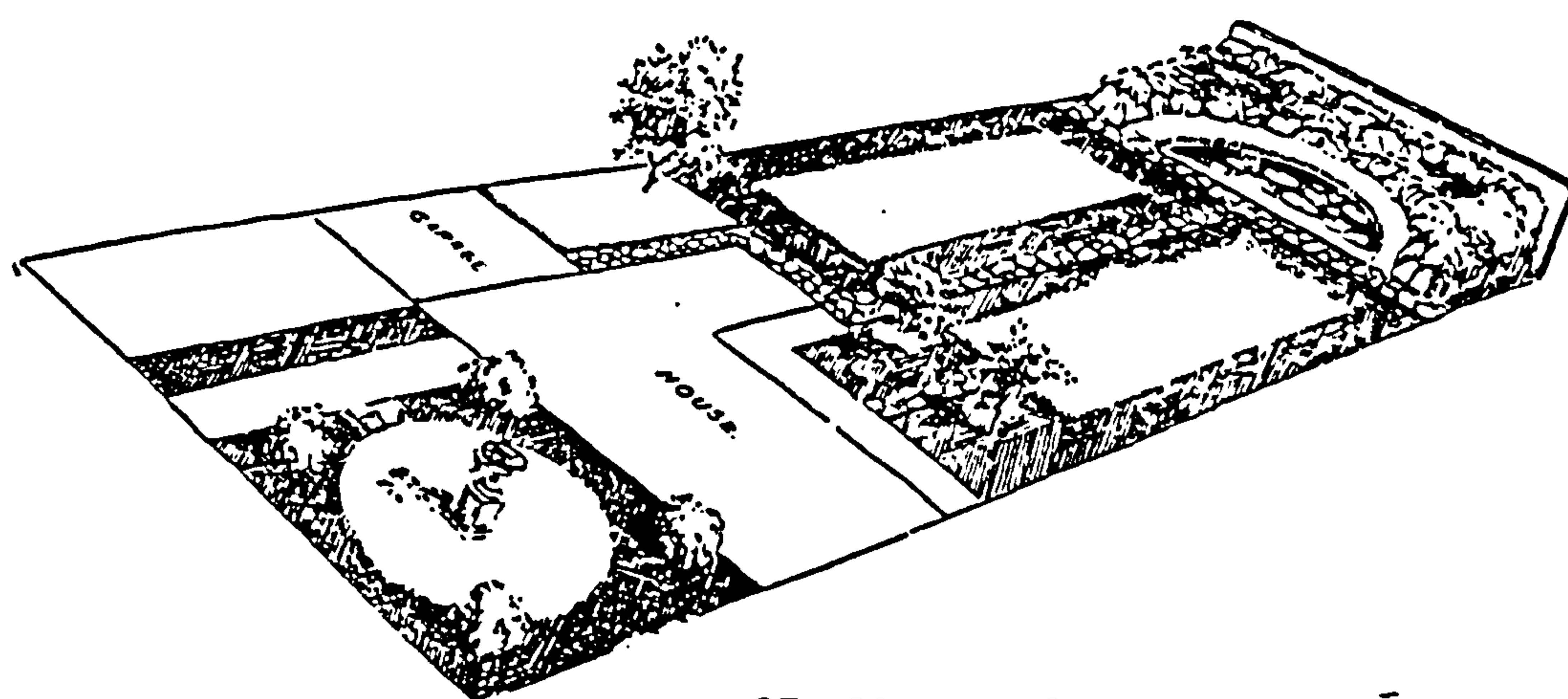
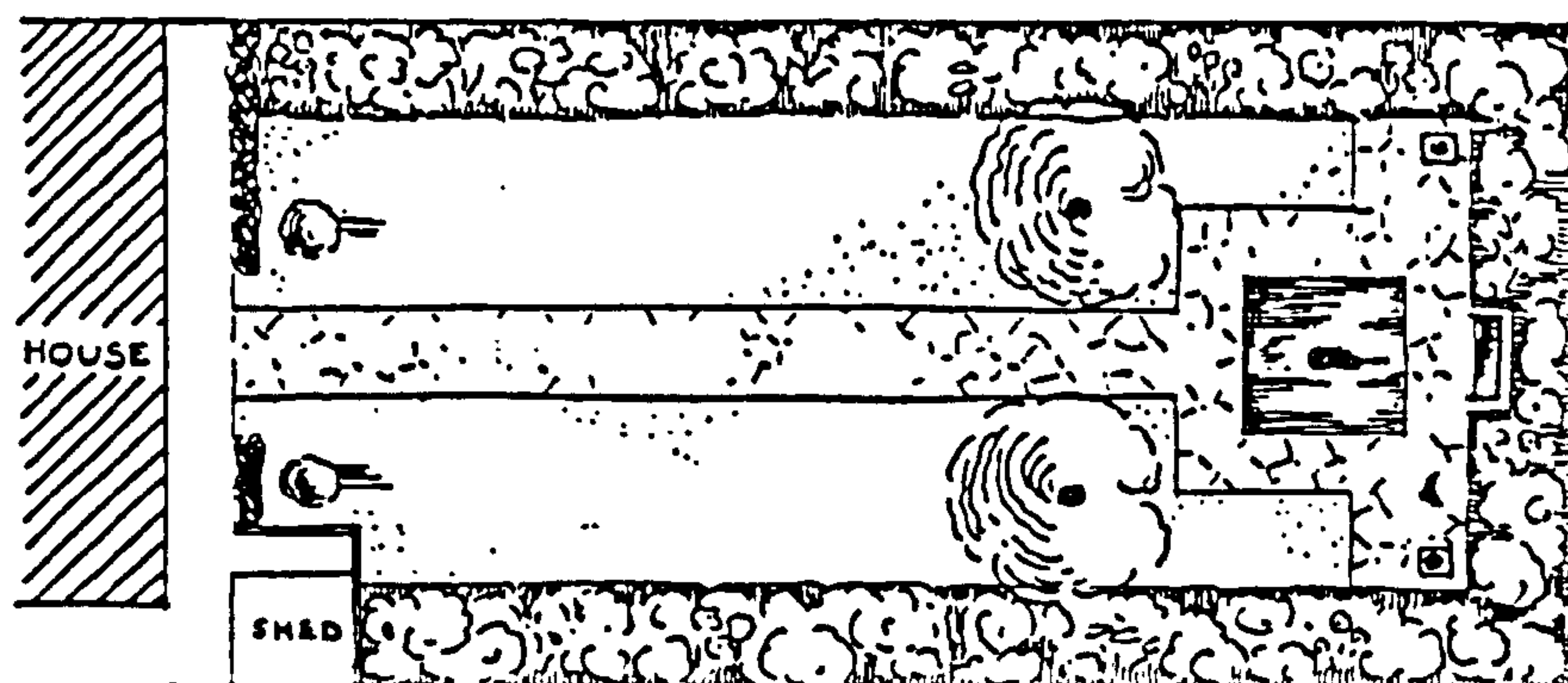
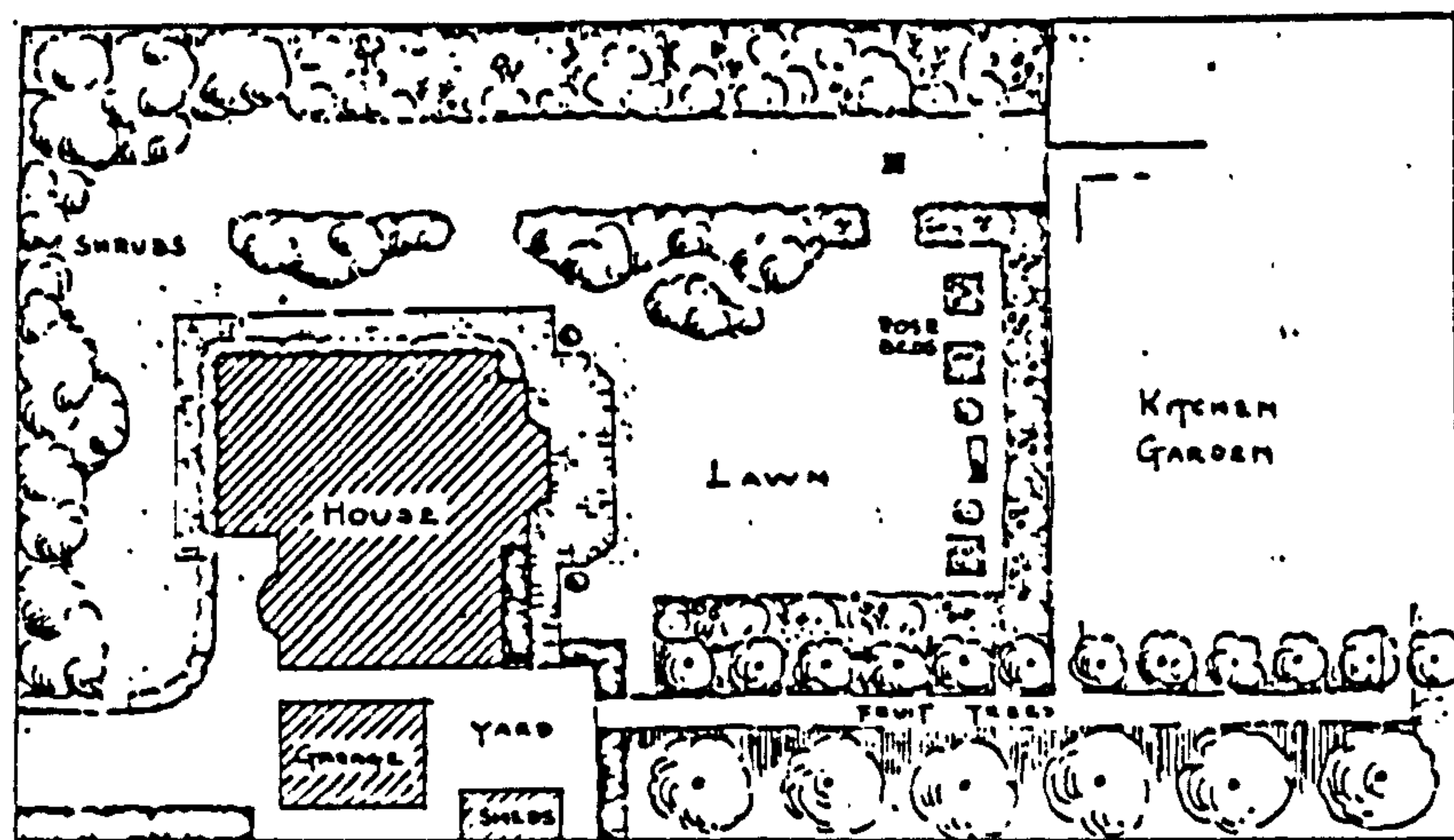
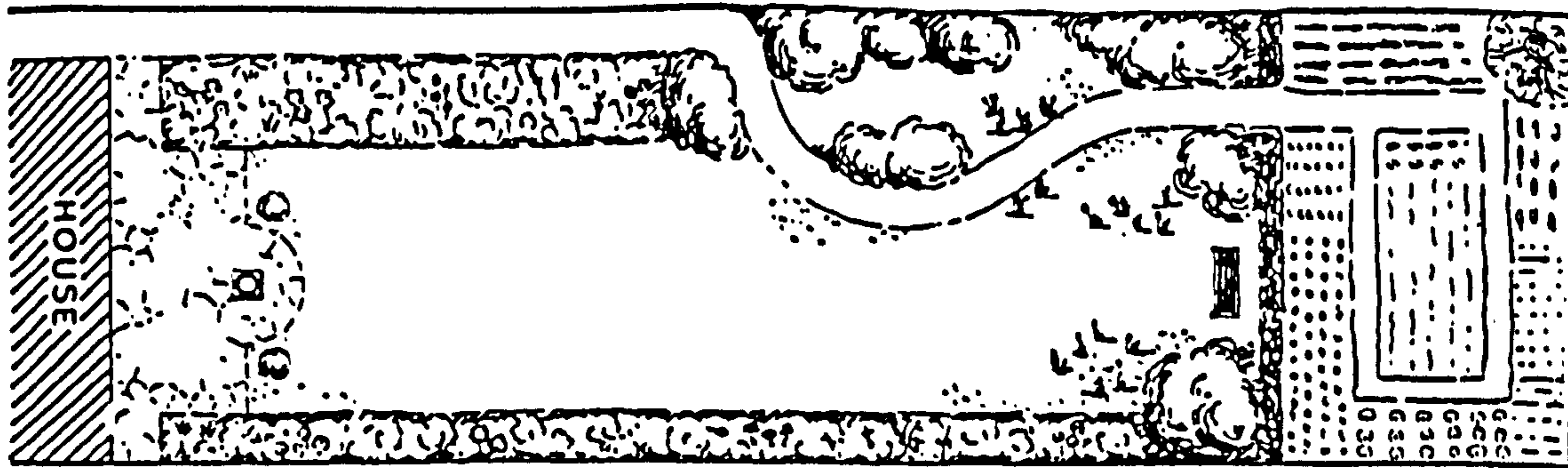


80 - 82. Garden Plans. (Popular Gardening)

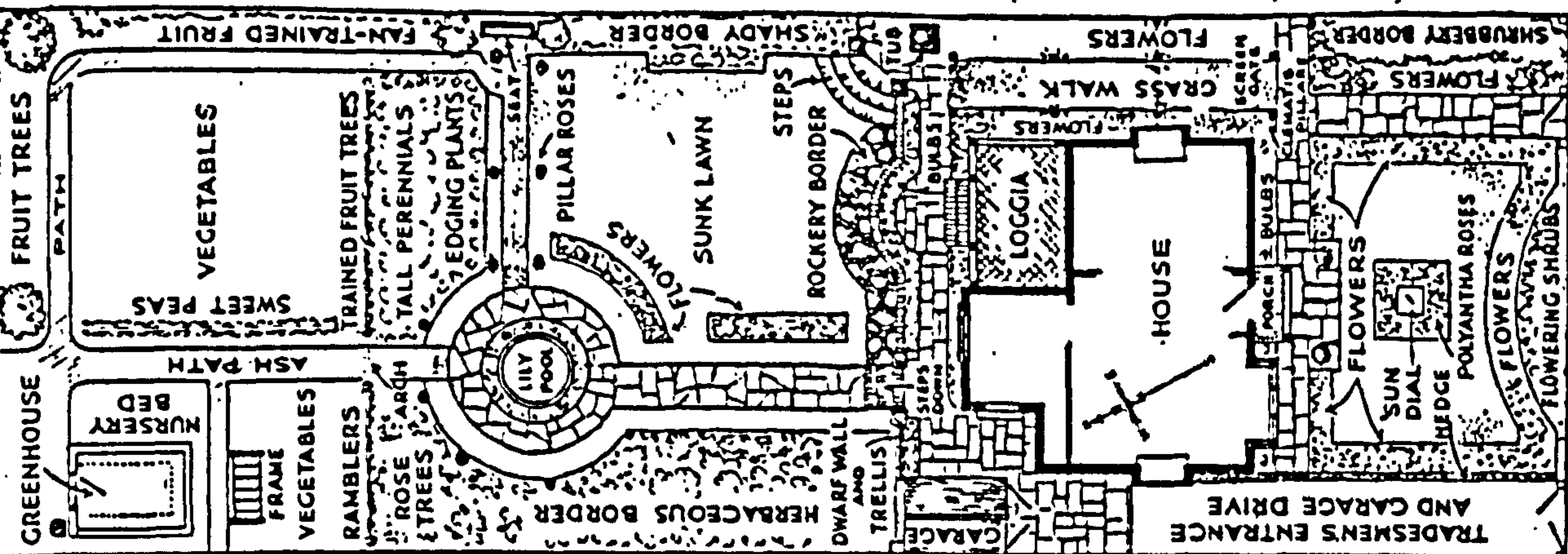
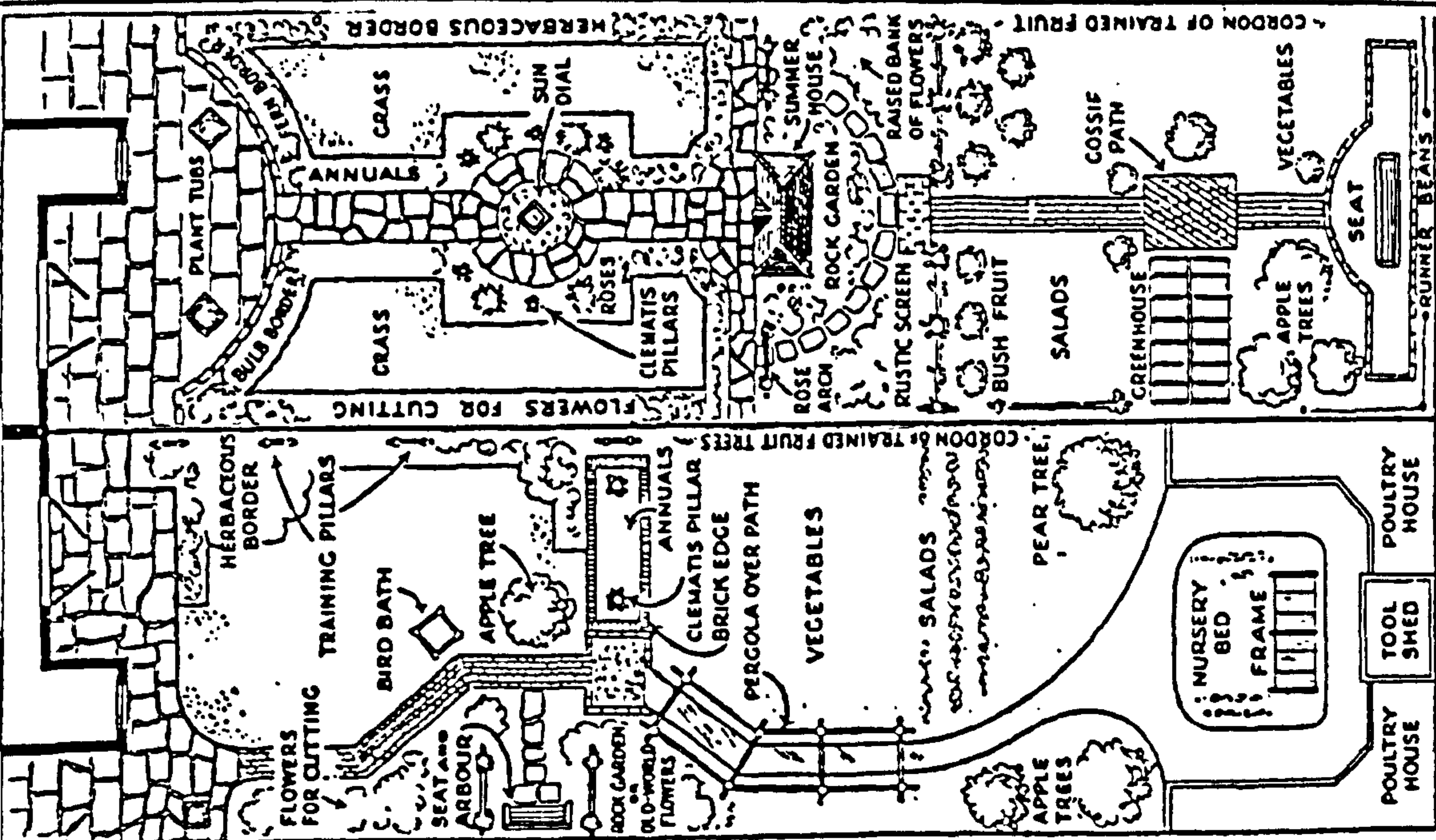
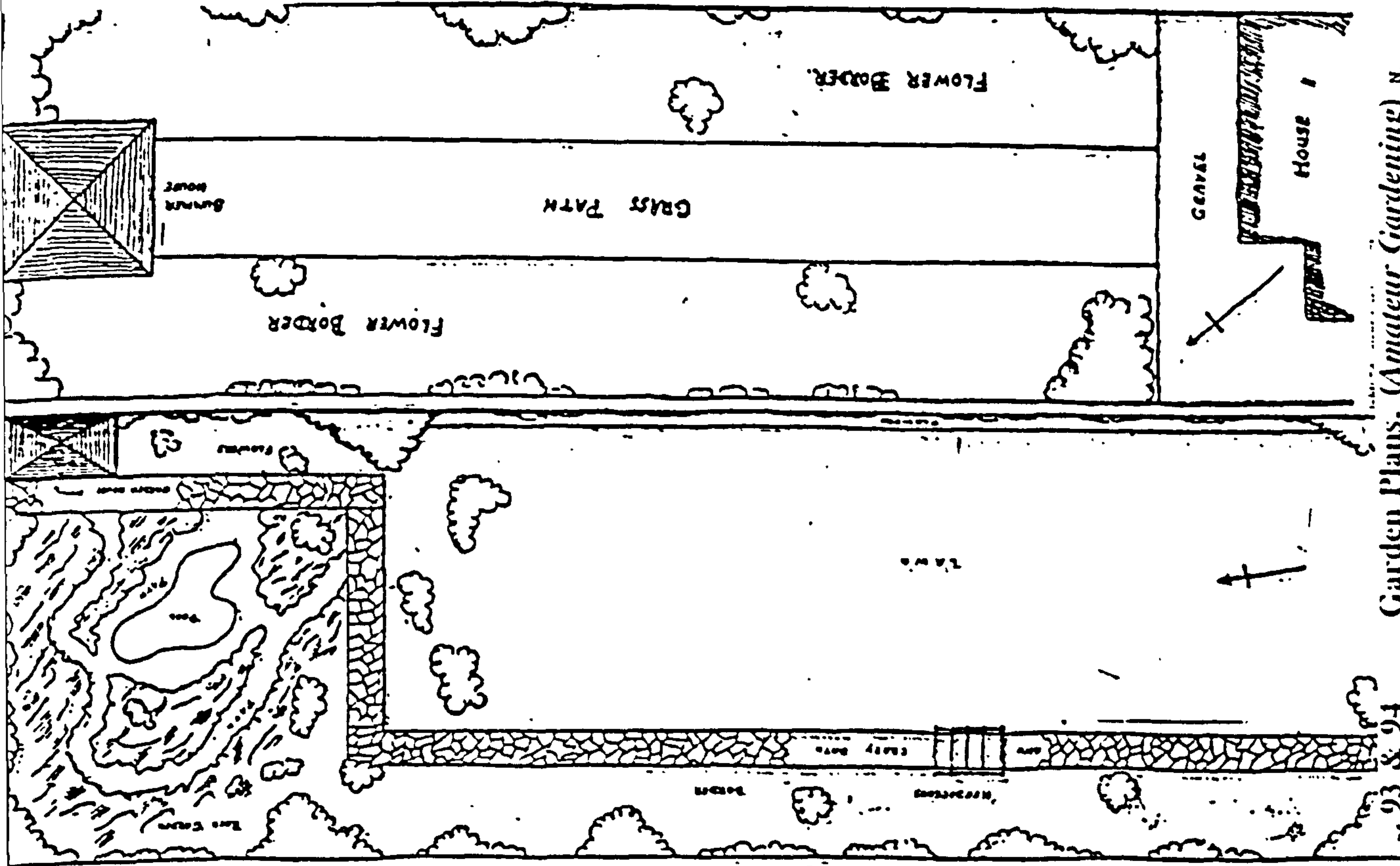


83 - 86.

Garden Plans. (*Popular Gardening*)

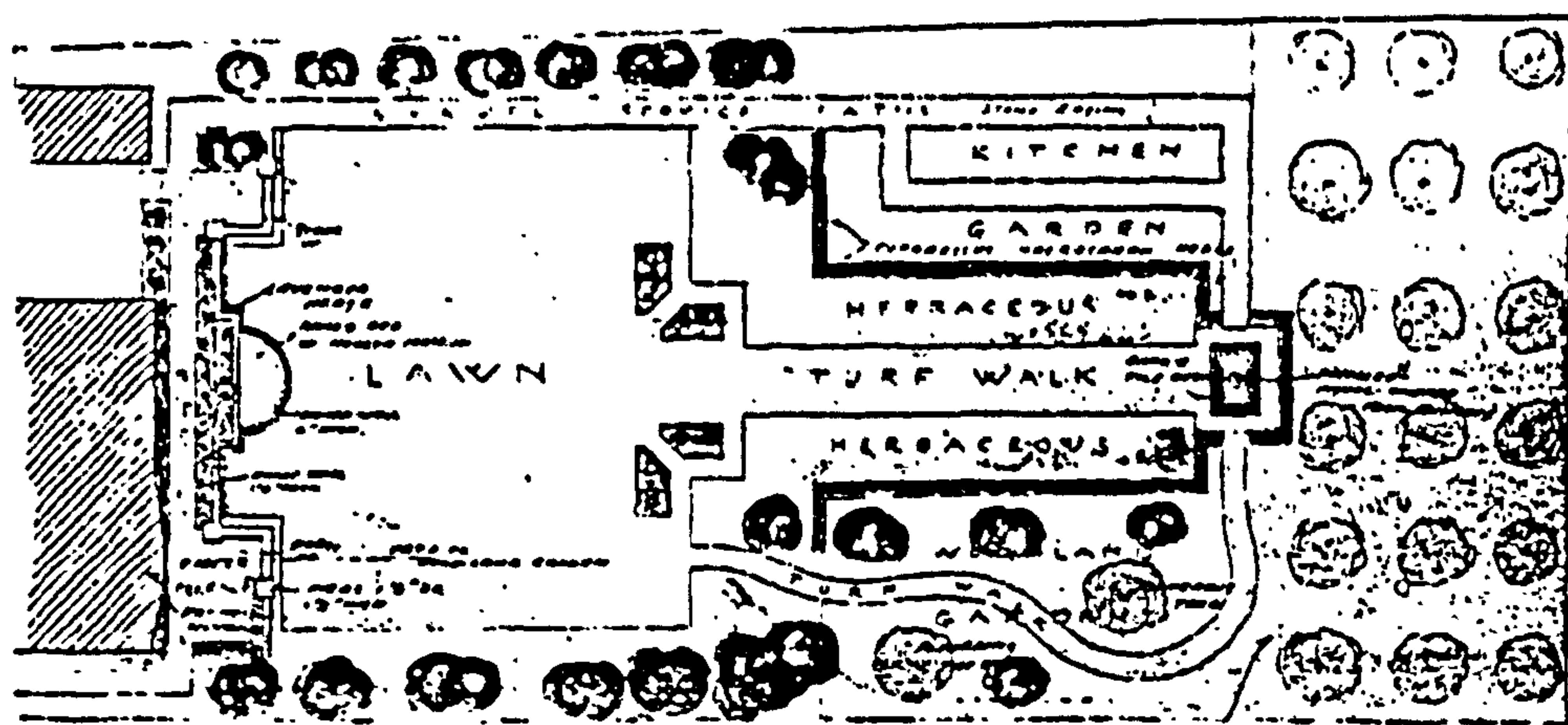
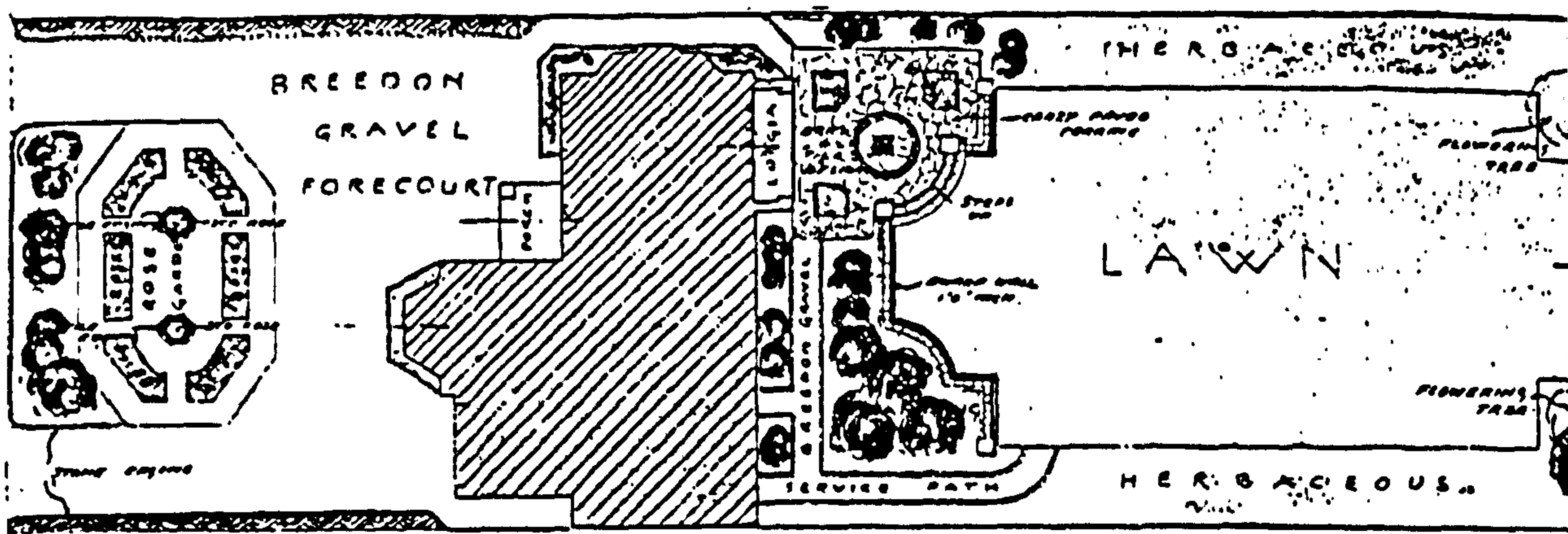


87 - 90. Garden Plans. (*Popular Gardening*)

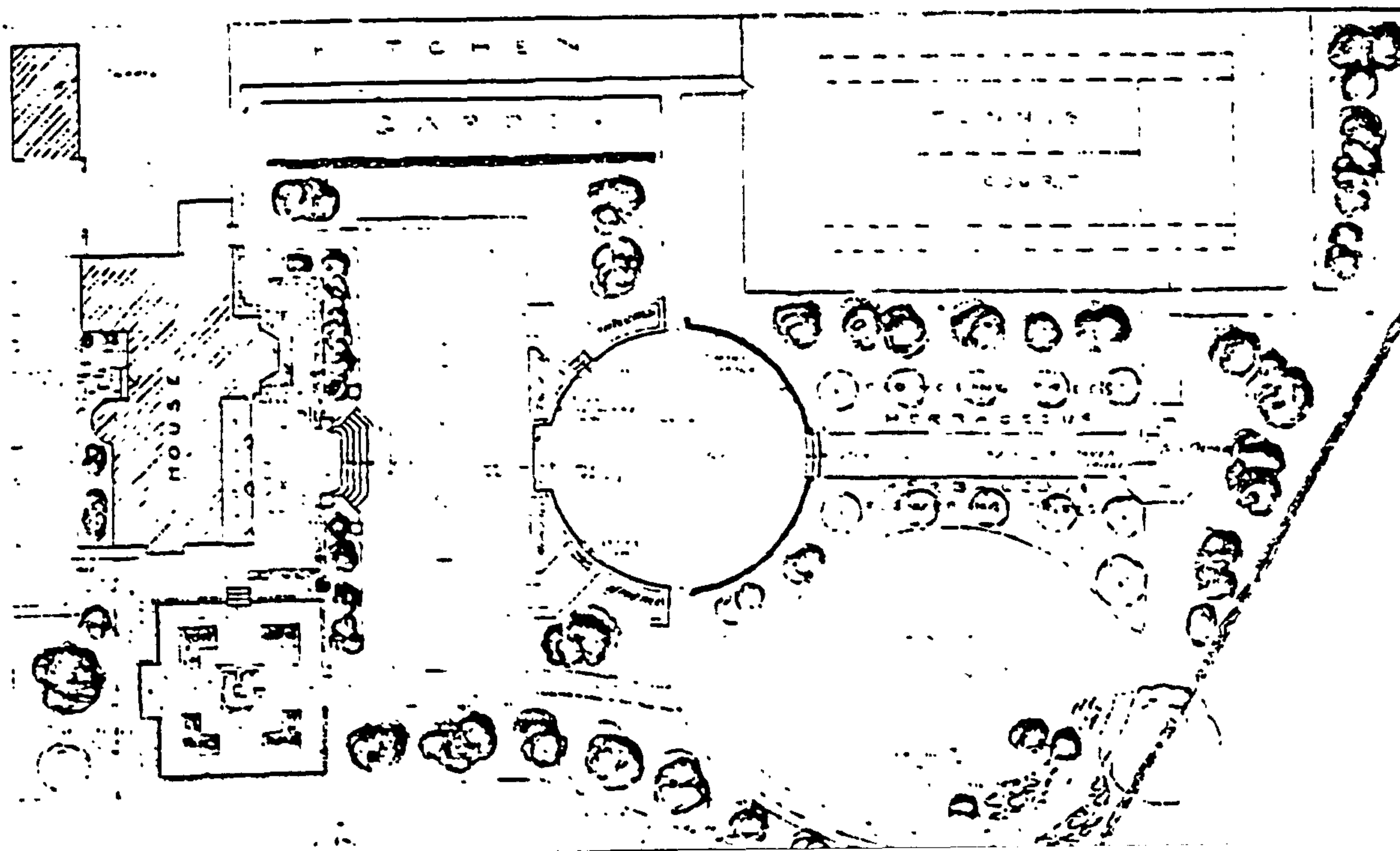


Garden Plans. (Amateur Gardening) 91 & 92. Garden Plans. (Home Gardening)

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95 - 97. Garden Plans. (*Homes and Gardens*)



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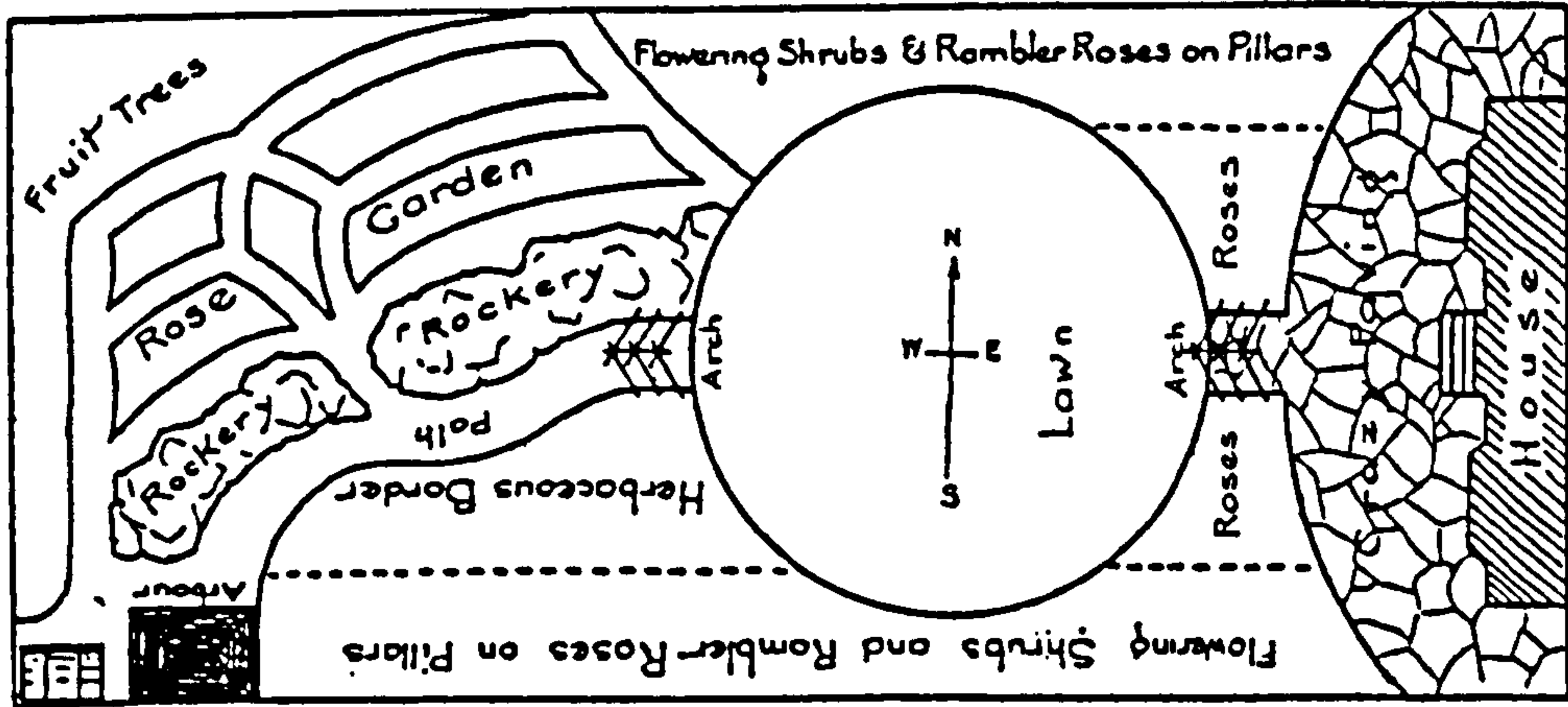
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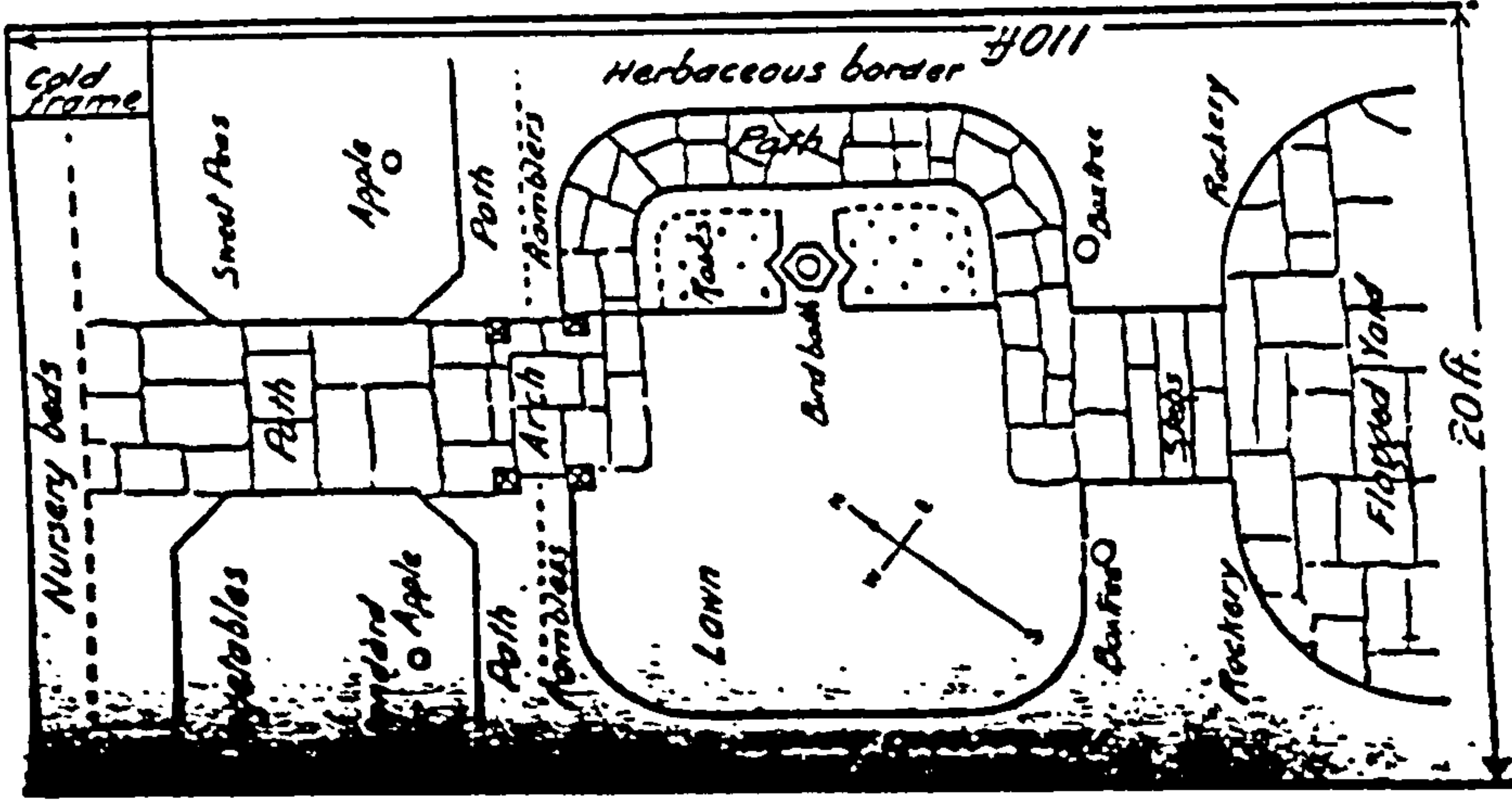
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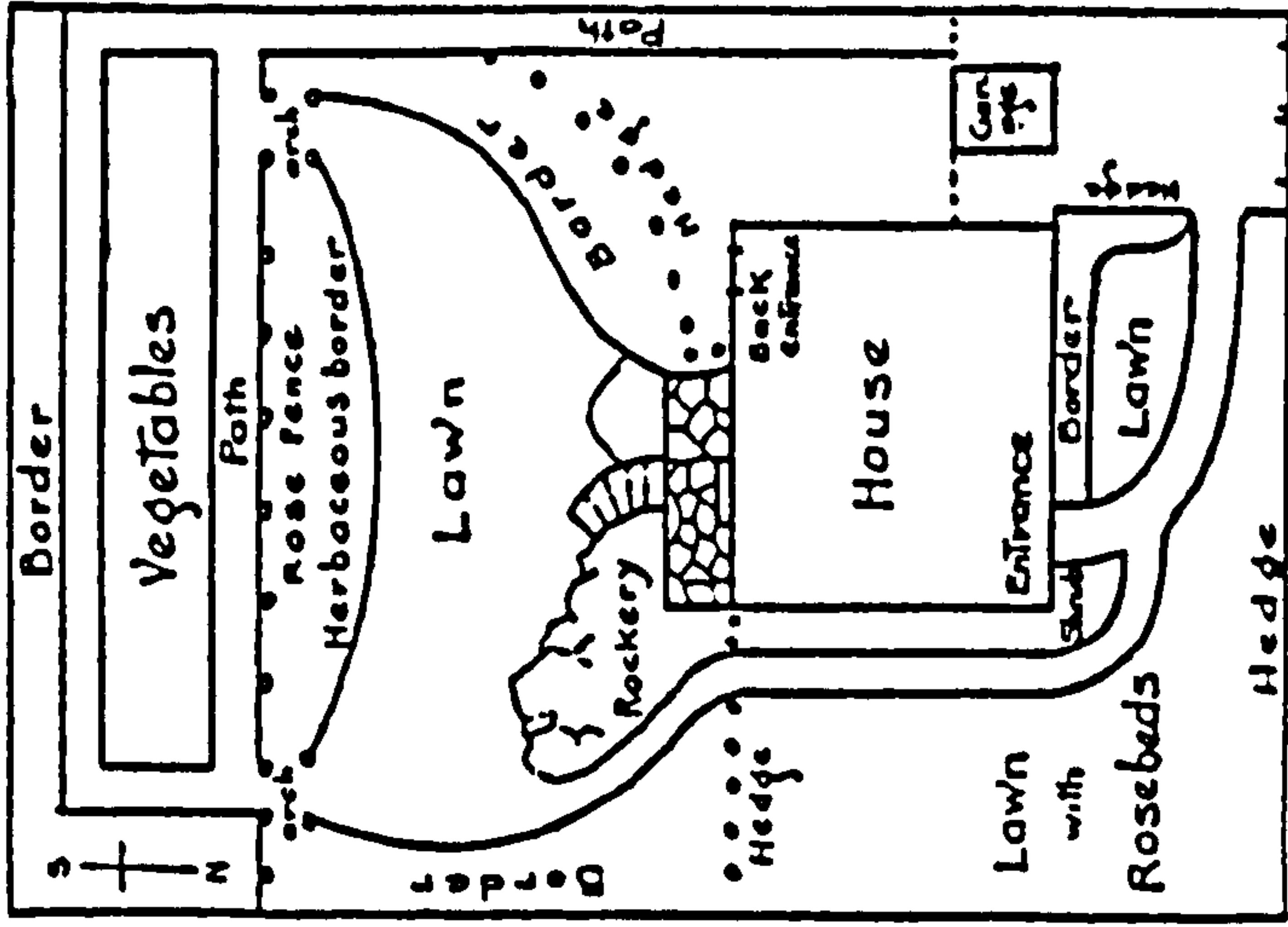
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Novel plan for an ordinary rectangular garden plot

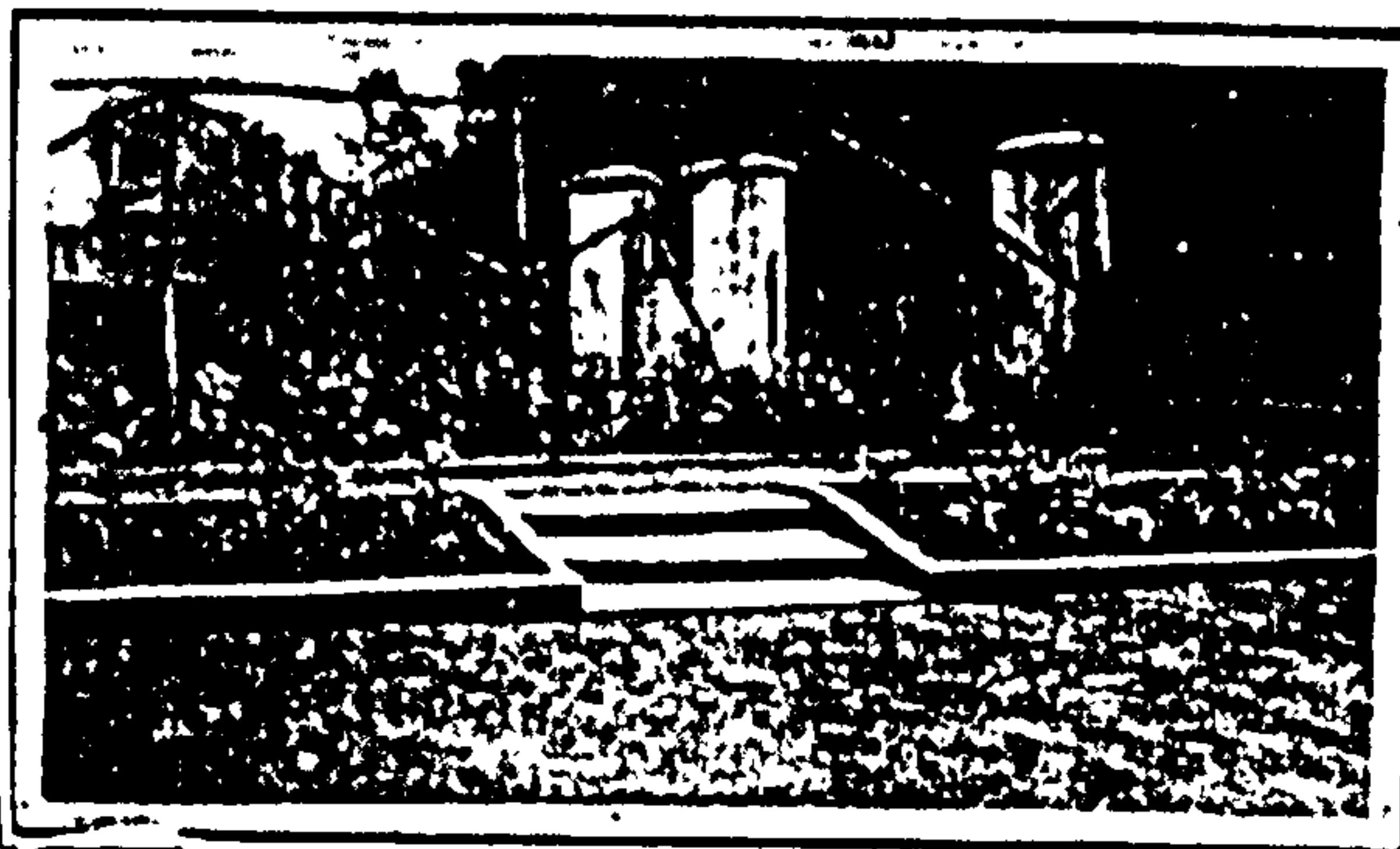


Plagge paths are a feature here; they look especially well in a formal garden



A simple and convenient plan for a small garden

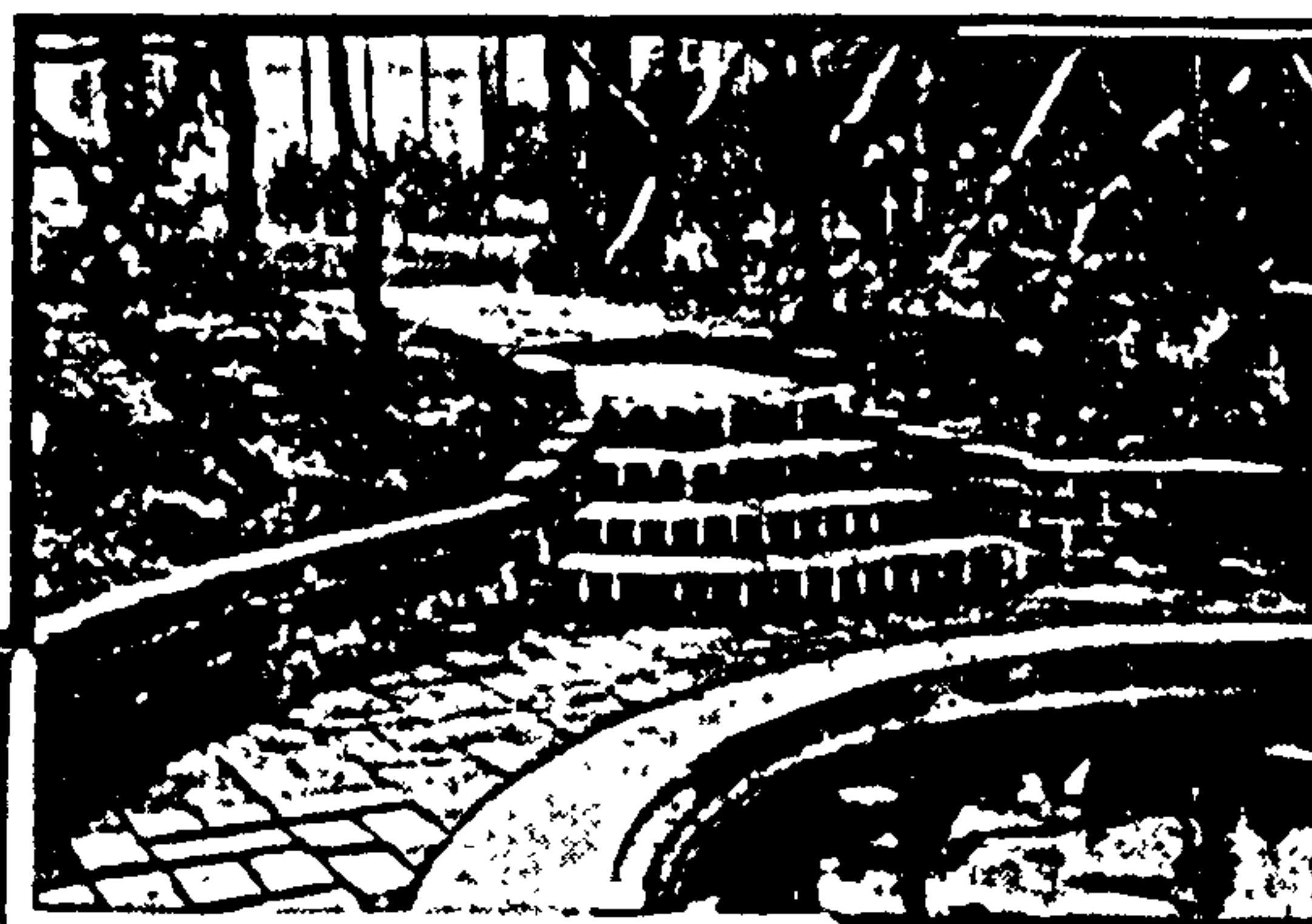
GOOD EXAMPLES OF GARDEN
STEP-BUILDING.



[Photo: C. McCrae.]



Photo: Mrs. A. K. Demuth.]



[Photo: A. Stacey.]

One of the factors governing success in garden step-building is that the style adopted for the steps be suited to the surroundings. In each of the instances illustrated here attention has obviously been paid to this point.

[Photo: A. R. Lash.]



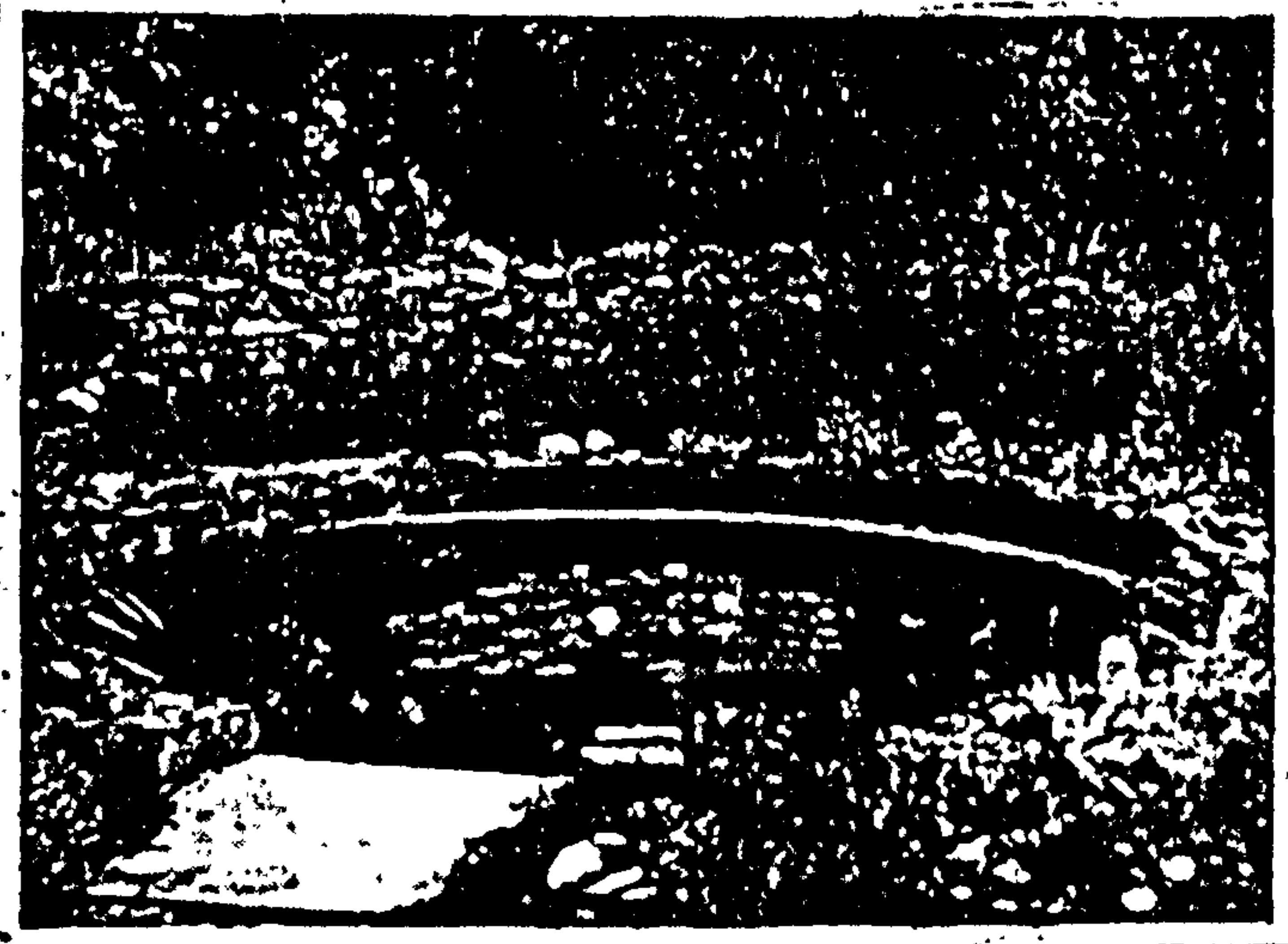
[Photo: H. G. Short.]

Photo: L. Craker.]



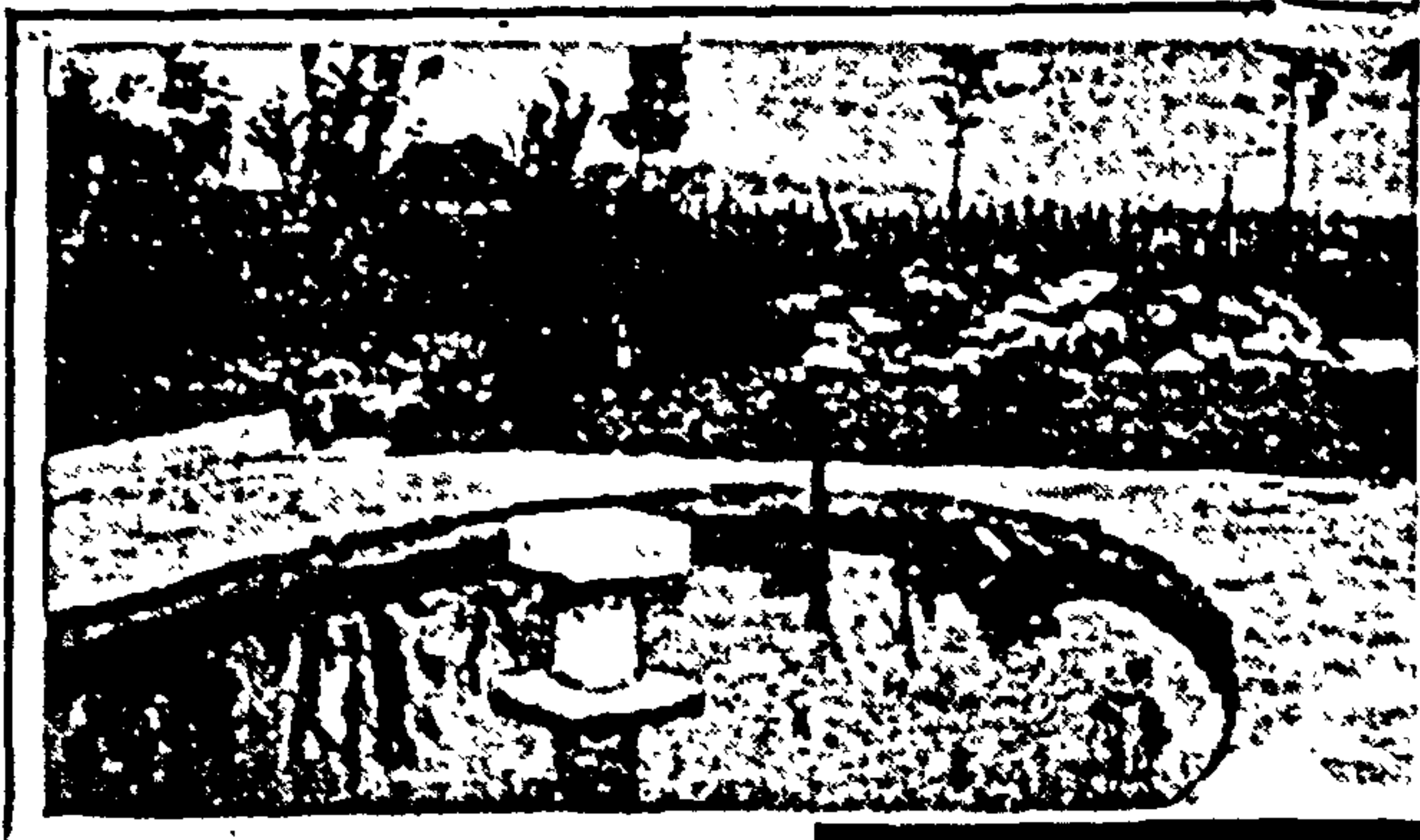
103. Suburban Gardens. (*The Book of Garden Improvements*)

THE VALUE OF WATER IN THE GARDEN



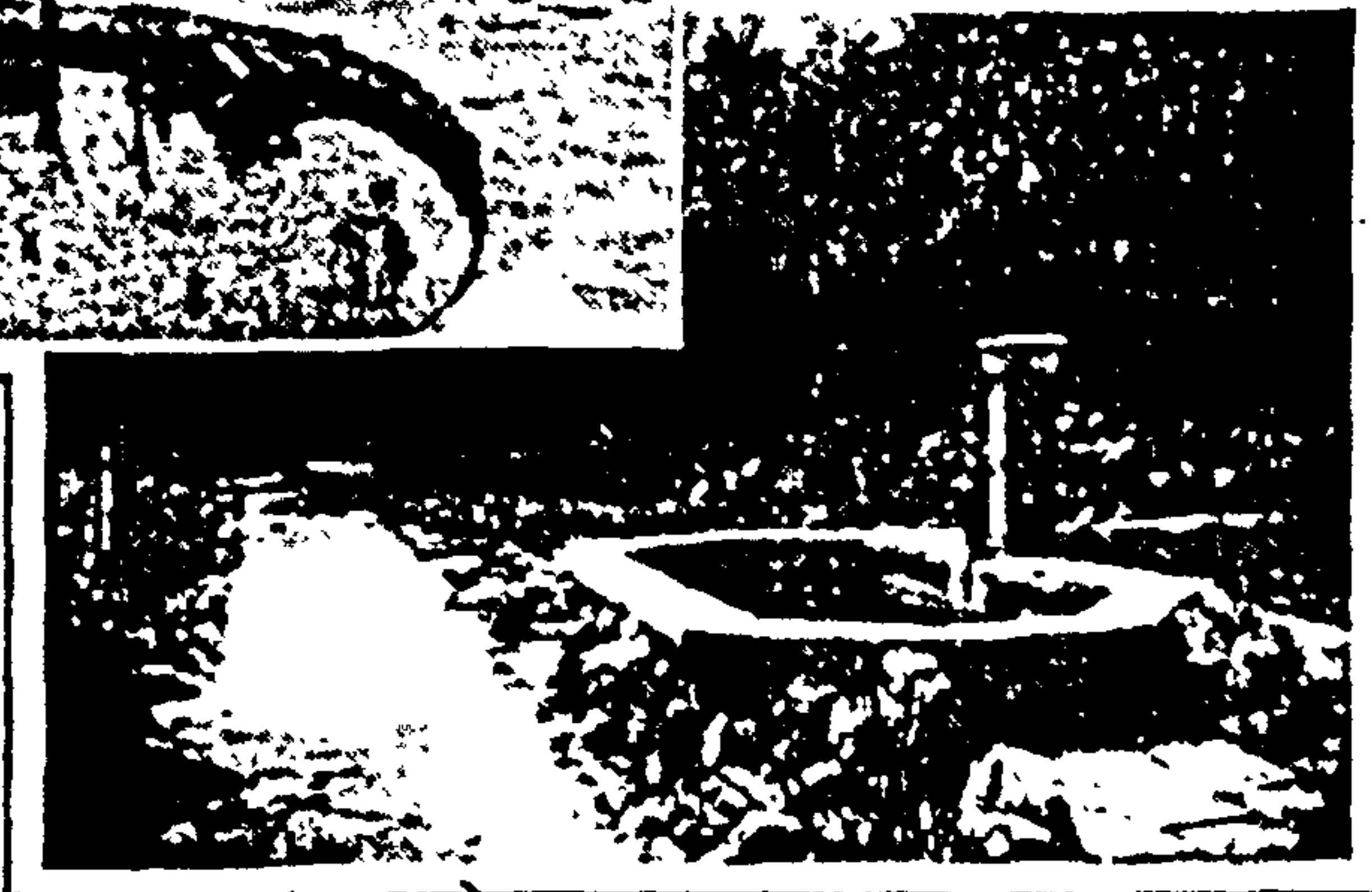
Photos: J. N. Banister, E. J. Phillips, and Mrs. J. H. McCarthy.]

A formal pool (above), a pool the beauty of which is enhanced by a dry stone wall (top right), and a cleverly constructed "stream" (right).



Photos: R. Moore and E. G. Hawgood.]

Two good efforts by amateurs without previous experience in pool-making.

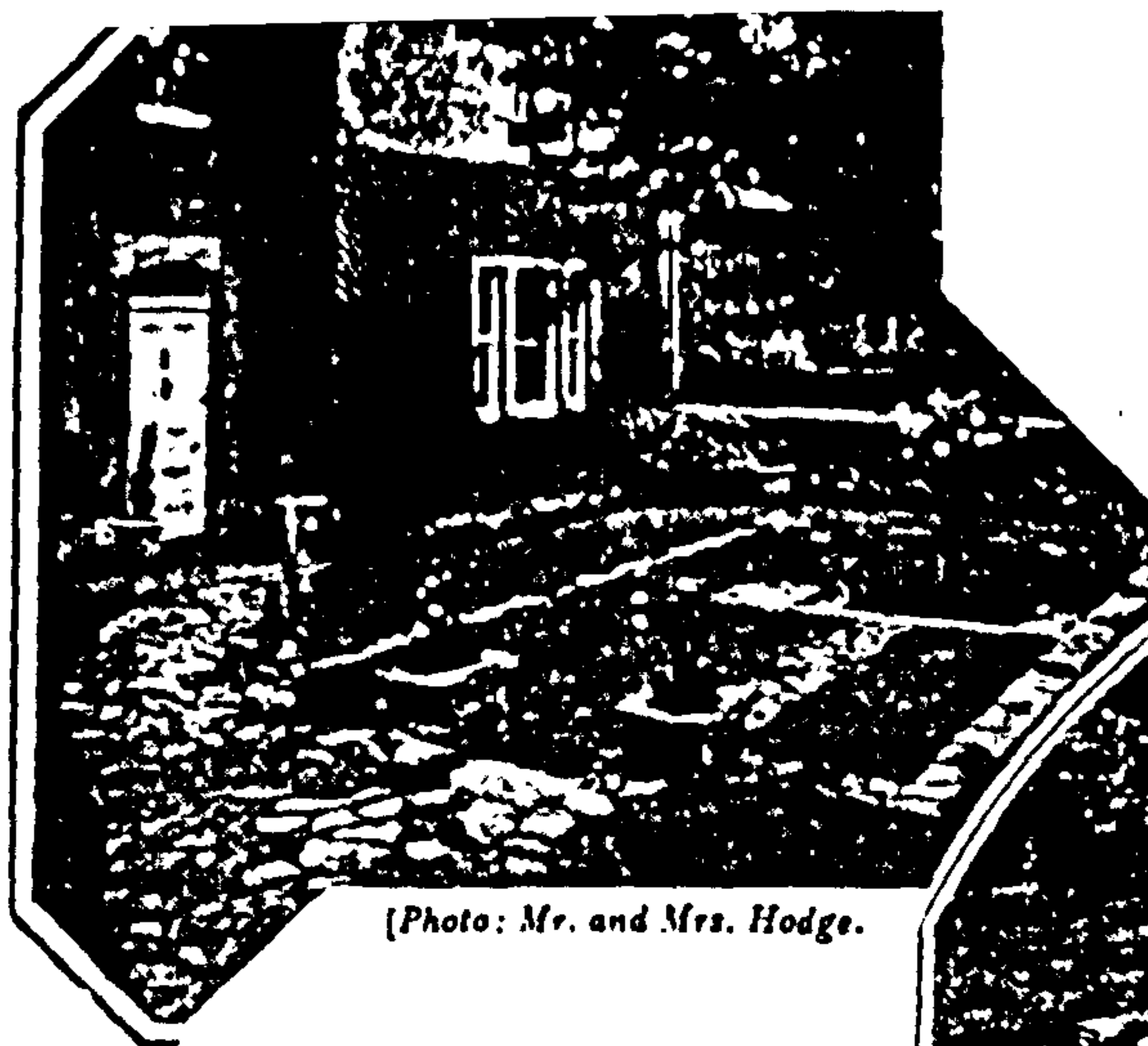


[Photo: L. H. Northover.]

Another amateur effort, the surroundings, in this case, being particularly happy.

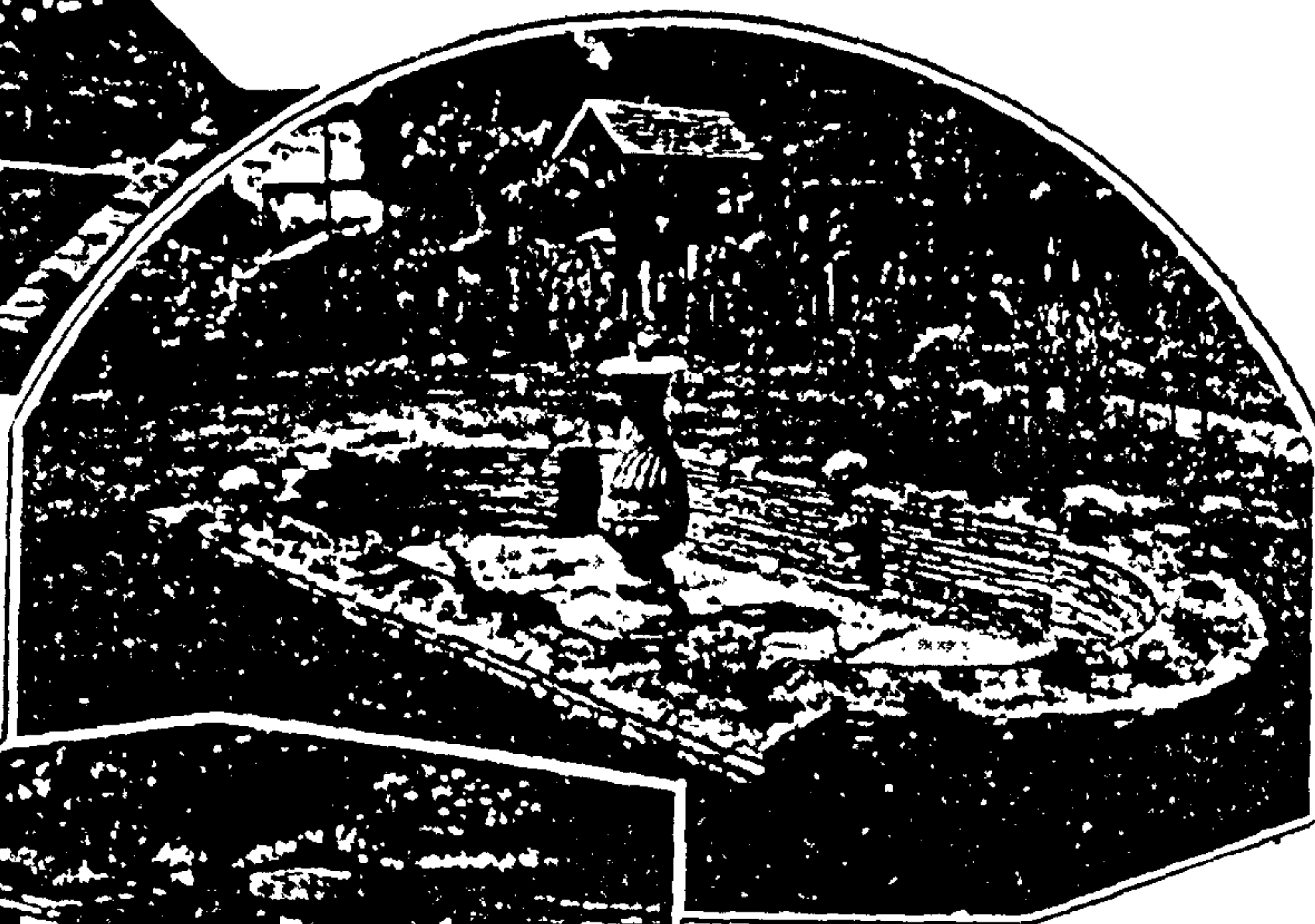
104. Suburban Gardens. (*The Book of Garden Improvements*)

SUNKEN GARDENS MADE
BY AMATEURS.



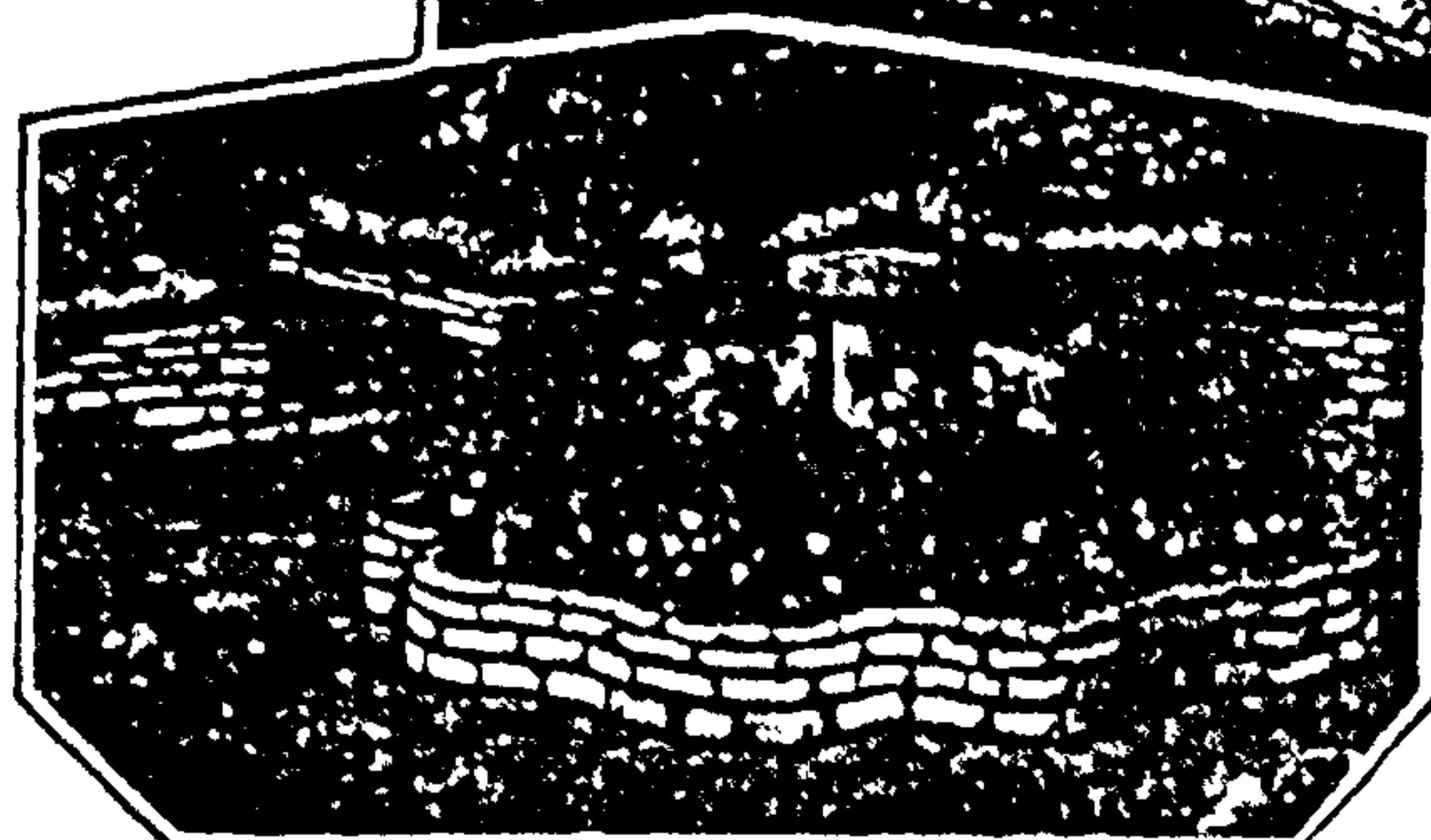
[Photo: Mr. and Mrs. Hodge.]

Both in construction and situation, this sunken garden is particularly happy.



[Photo: S. Bennett.]

A simple form of sunken garden (right) employing inexpensive materials.



[“ Home Gardening ” Photo.]

The sunken garden as a centre-of-the-lawn feature. The design is worthy of note.



[Photo: A. Rooksby.]

A natural dip converted very pleasantly into a sunken garden.

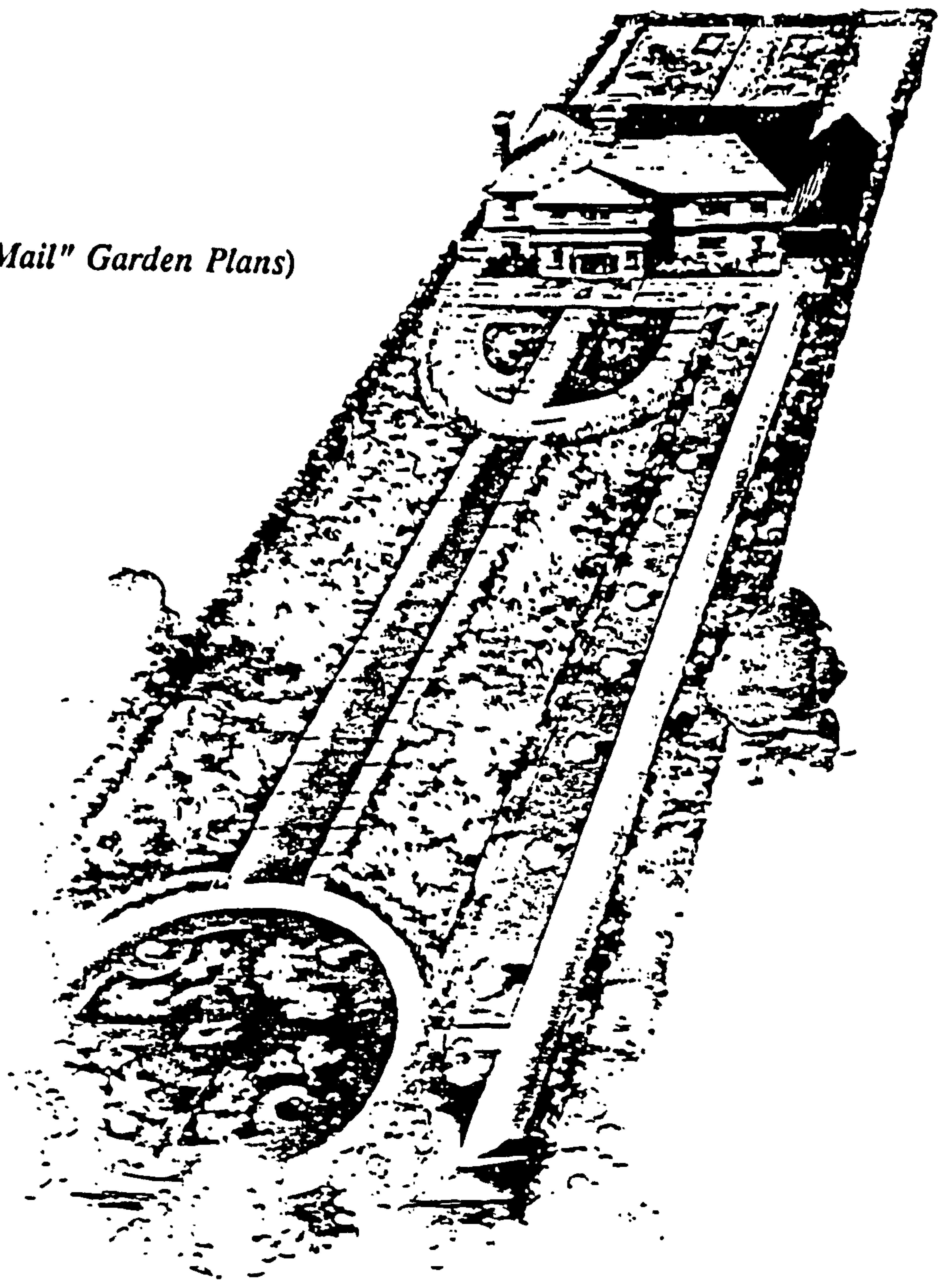
Showing how gracefully (below) a pool fits in as a sunken garden feature.



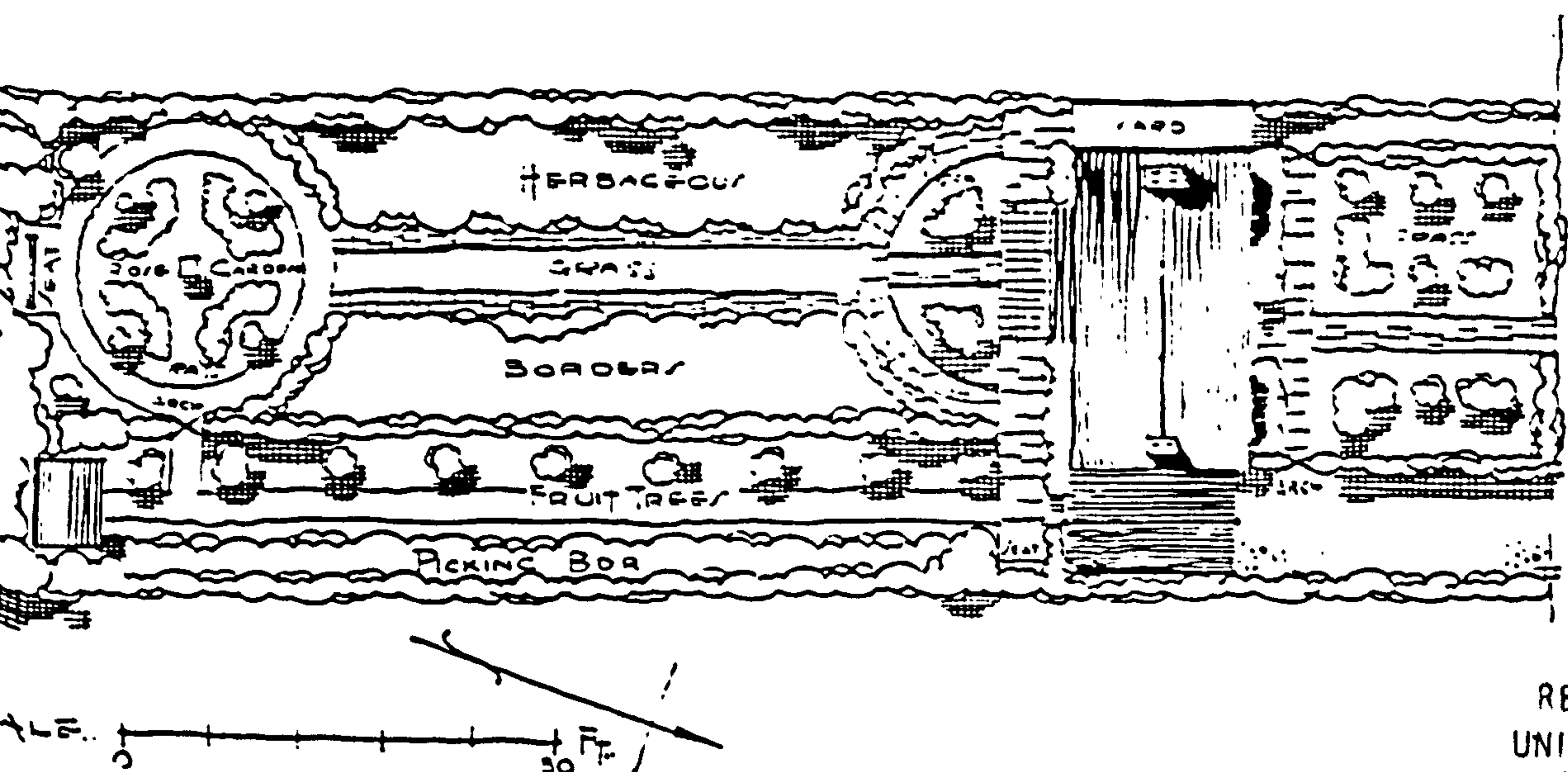
[Photo: Mr. and Mrs. Surridge.]

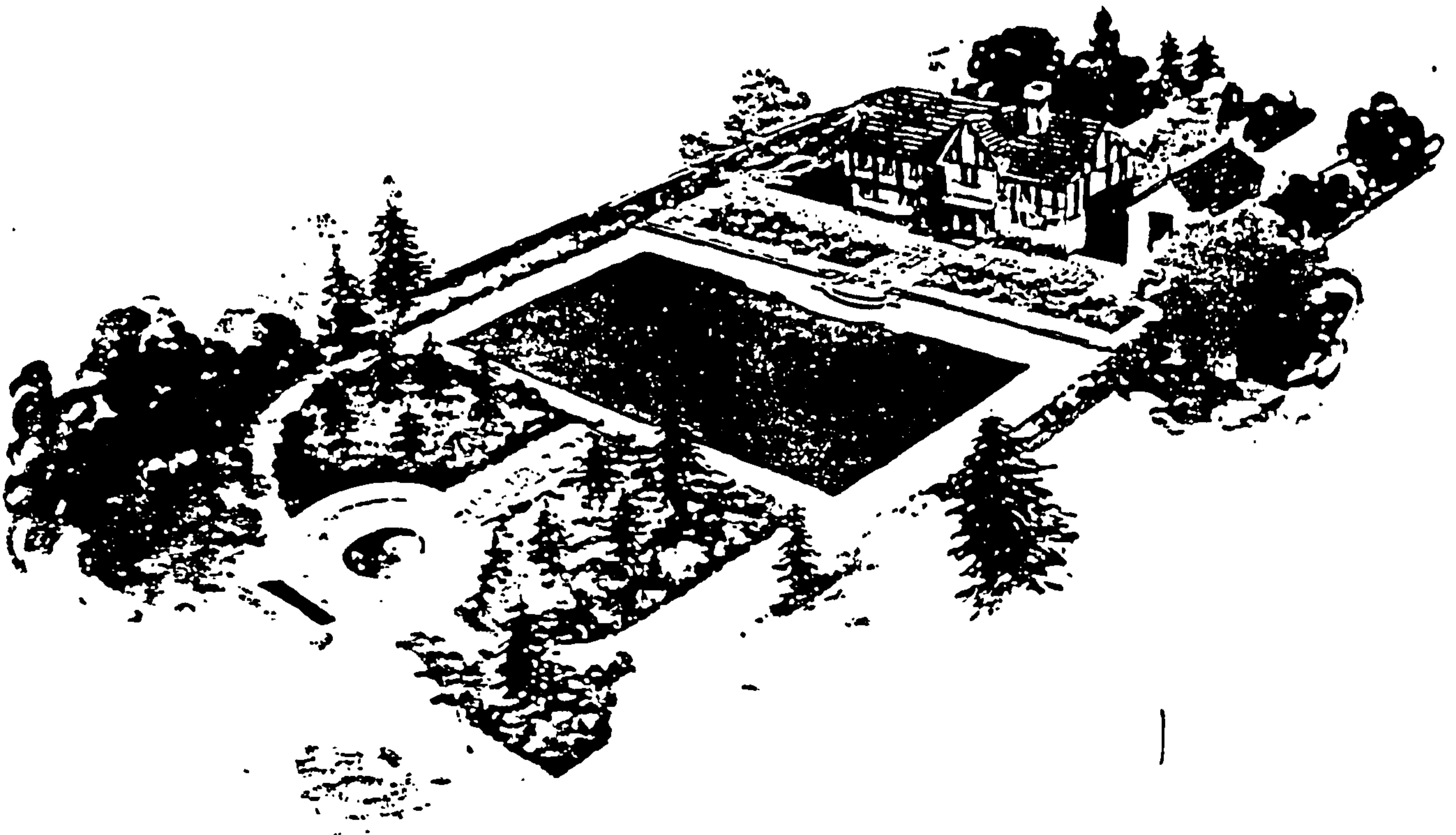
105. Suburban Gardens. (*The Book of Garden Improvements*)

106. Garden Plans. (*"Daily Mail" Garden Plans*)

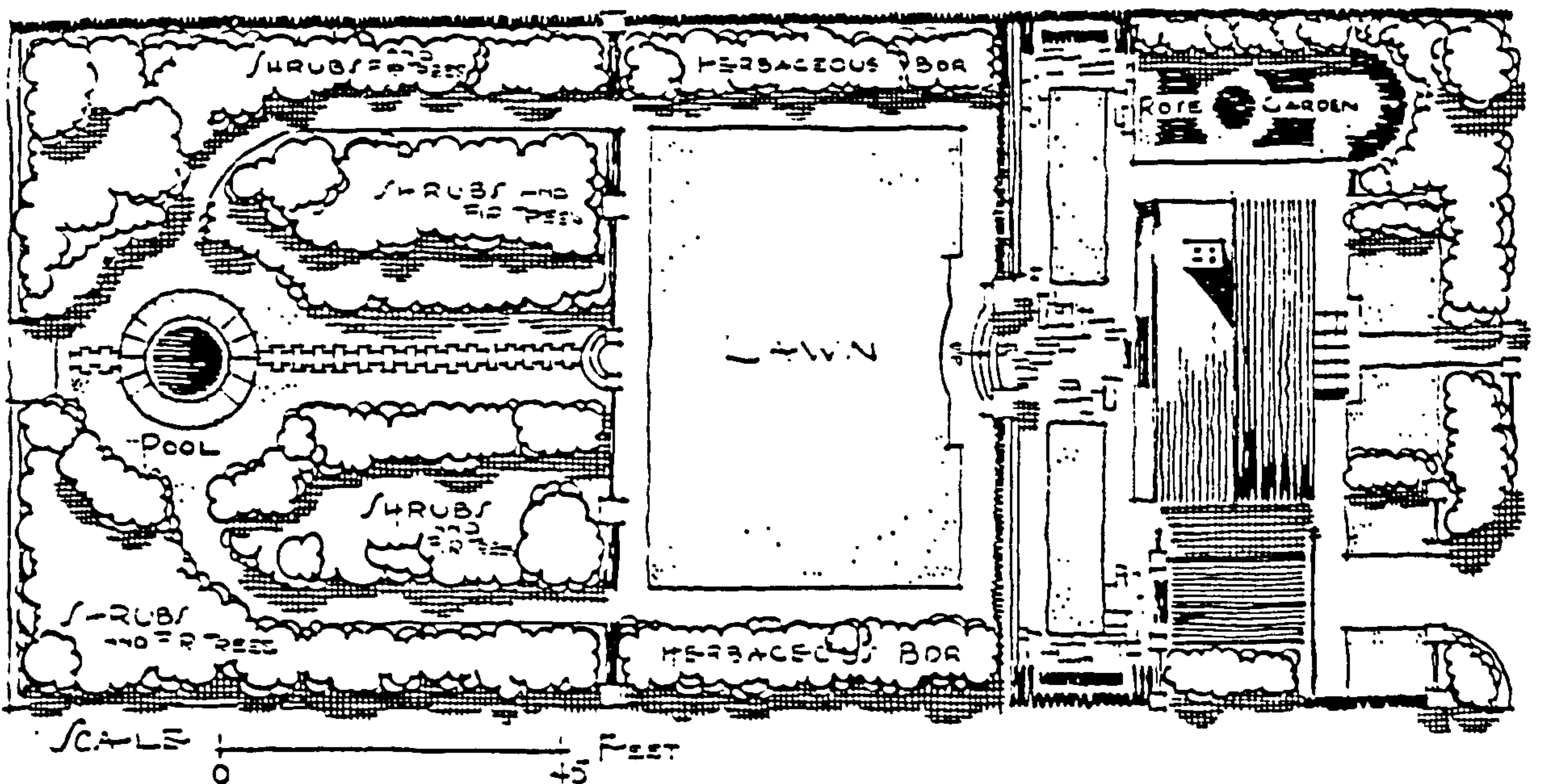


On a Narrow Plot :

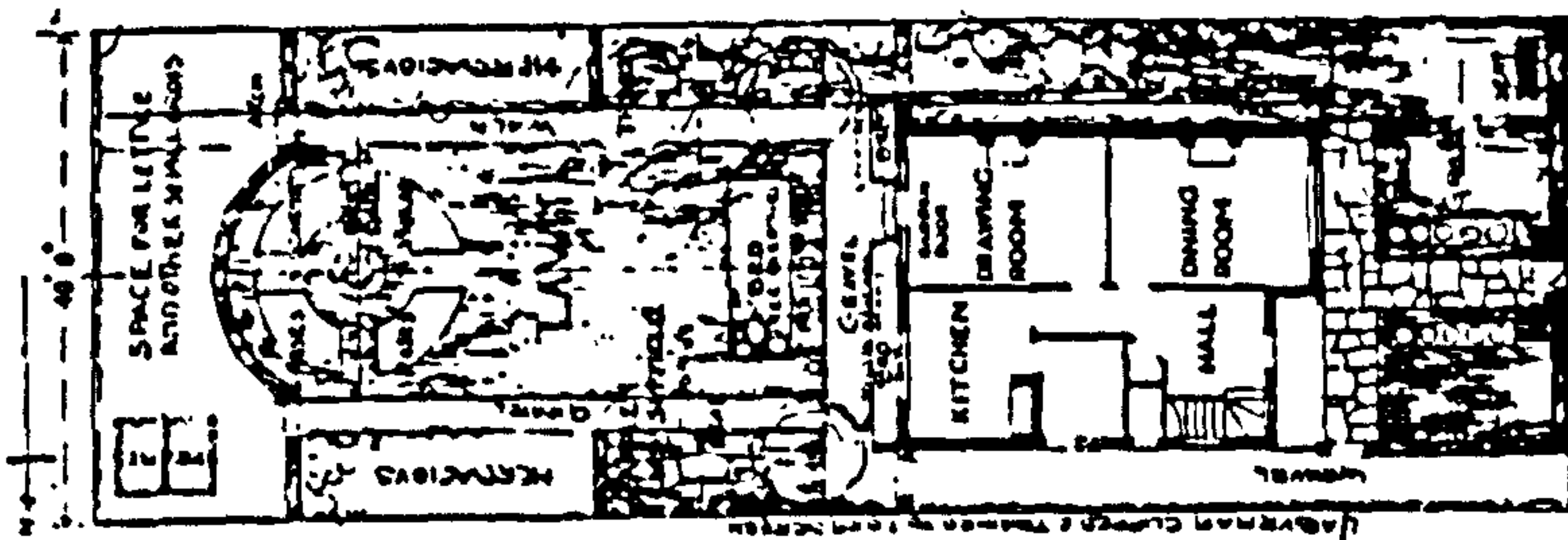




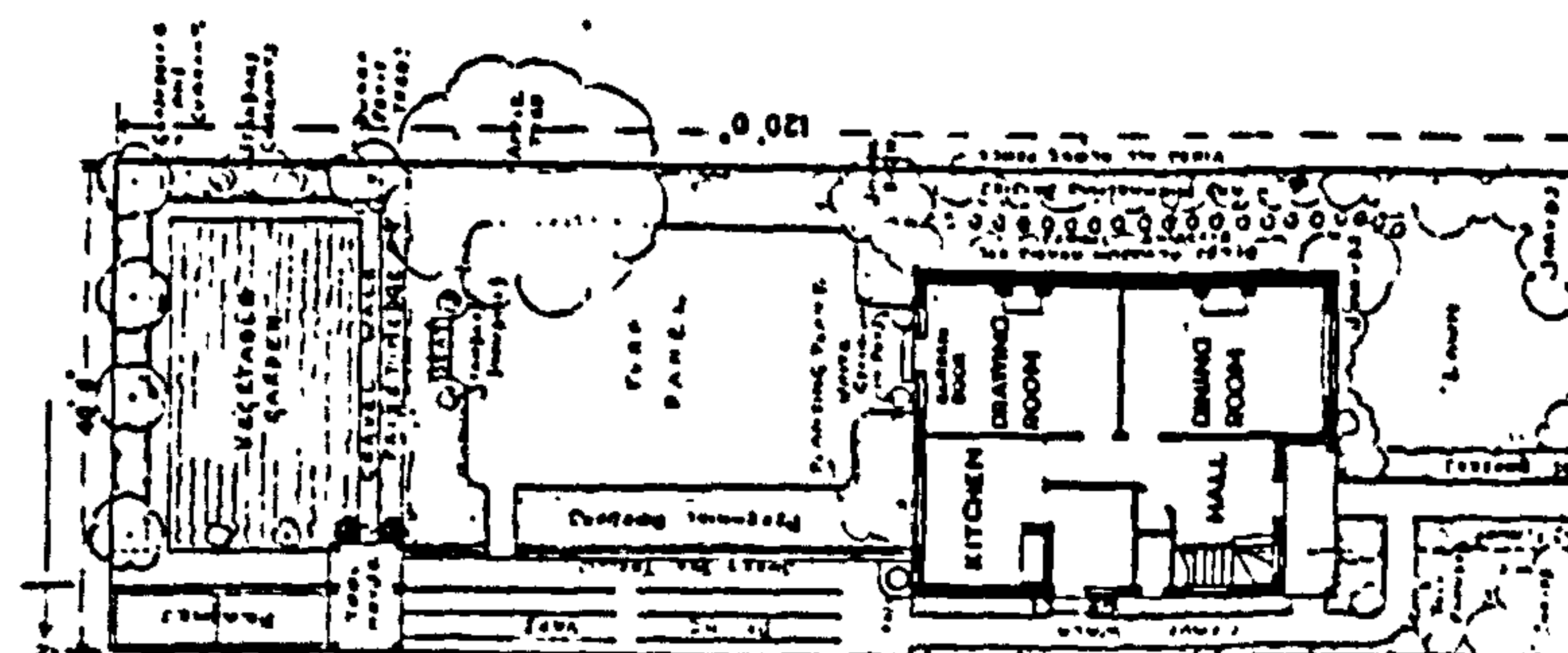
In an Outer Suburb



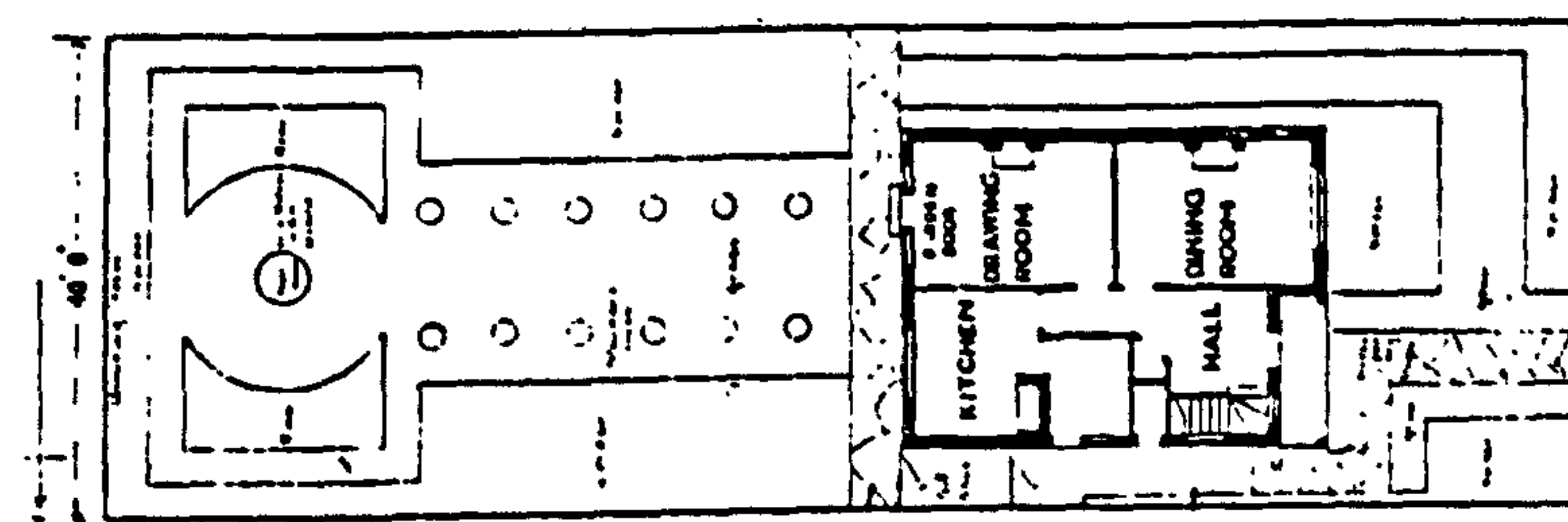
107. Garden Plans. (*"Daily Mail" Garden Plans*)



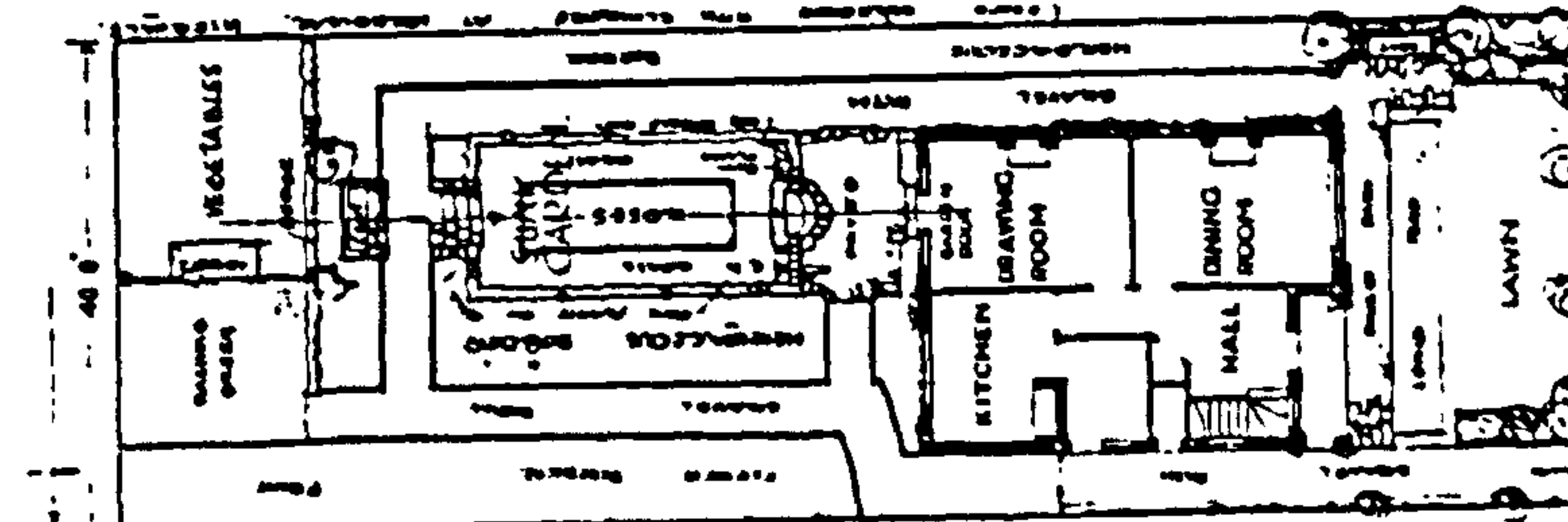
Design by B. V. Orphoot.



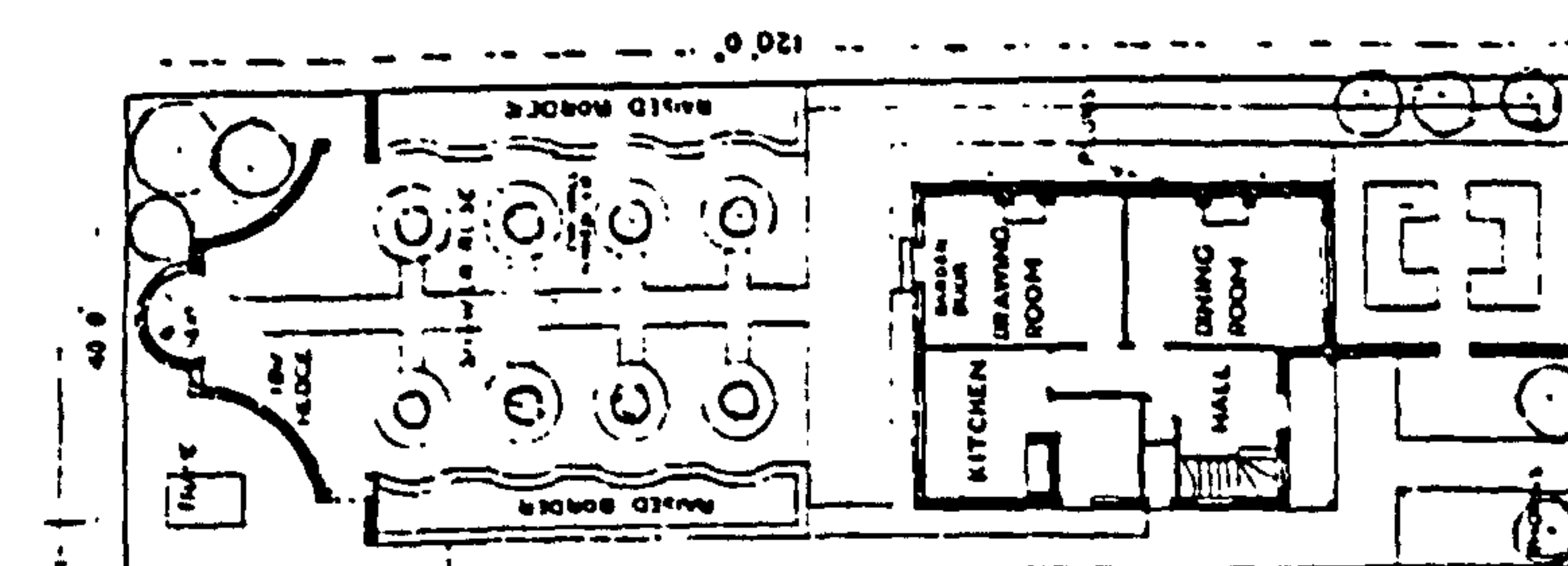
Design by E. Leonard.



Design by B. M. Cory.

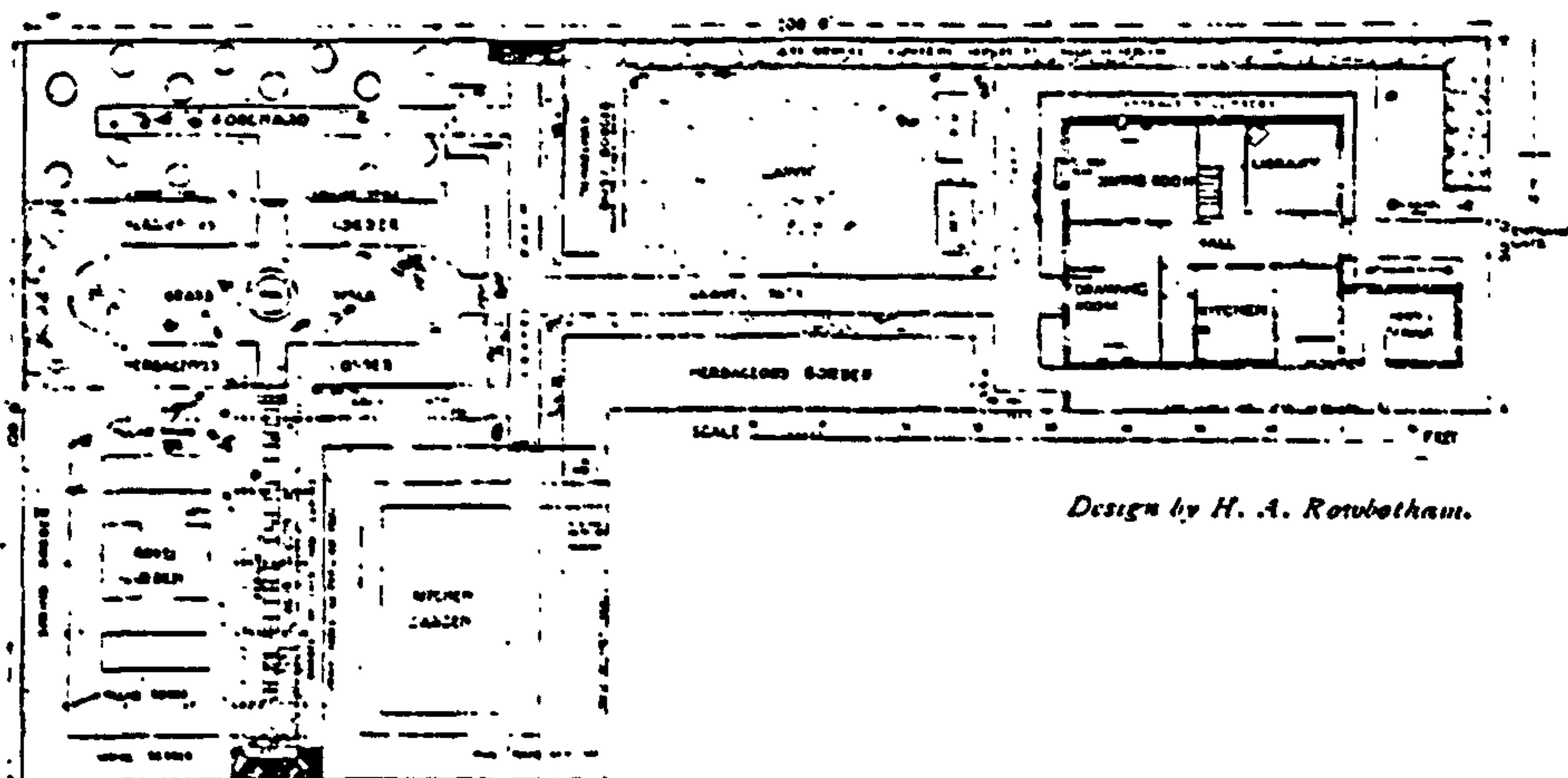
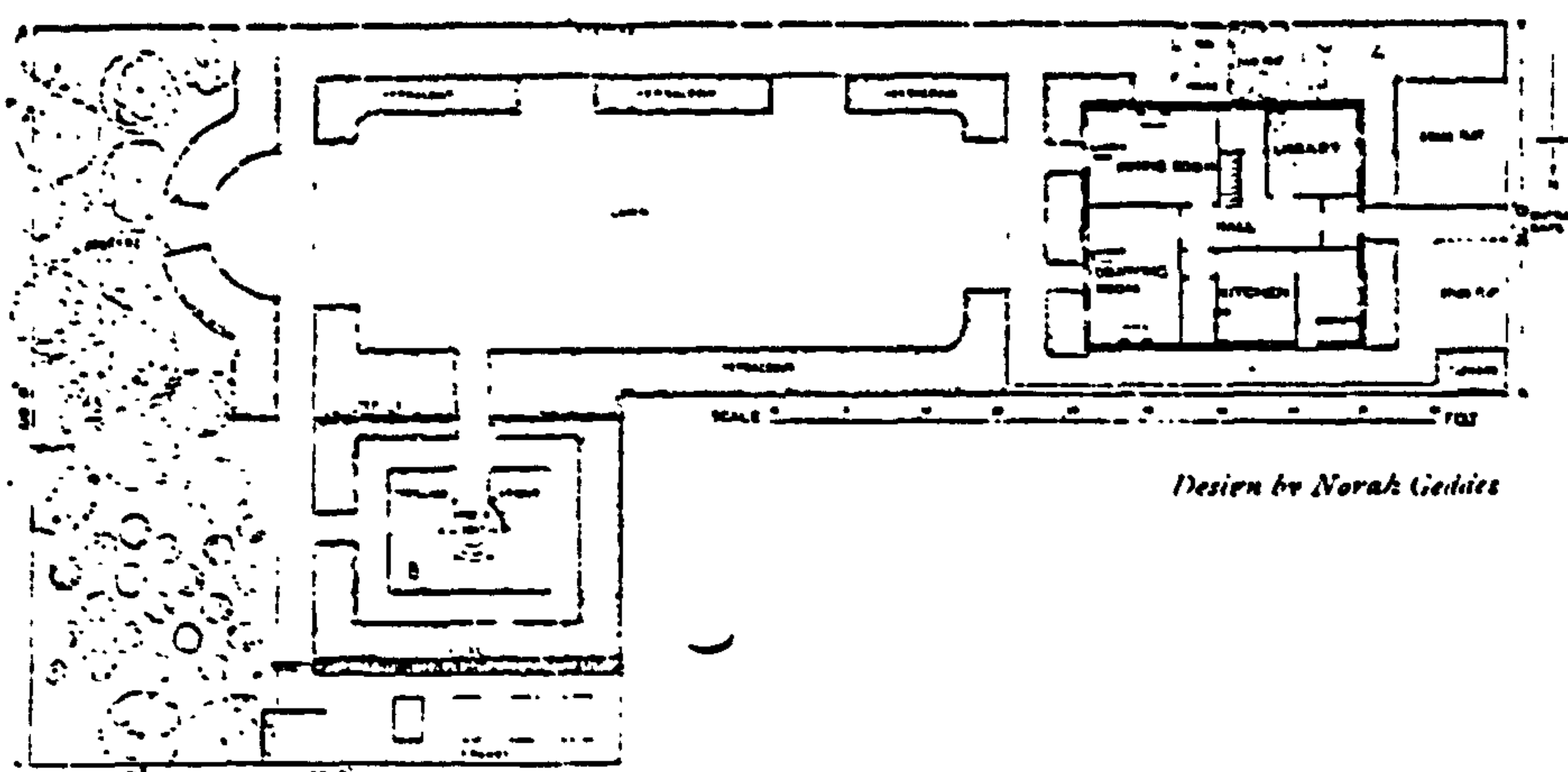
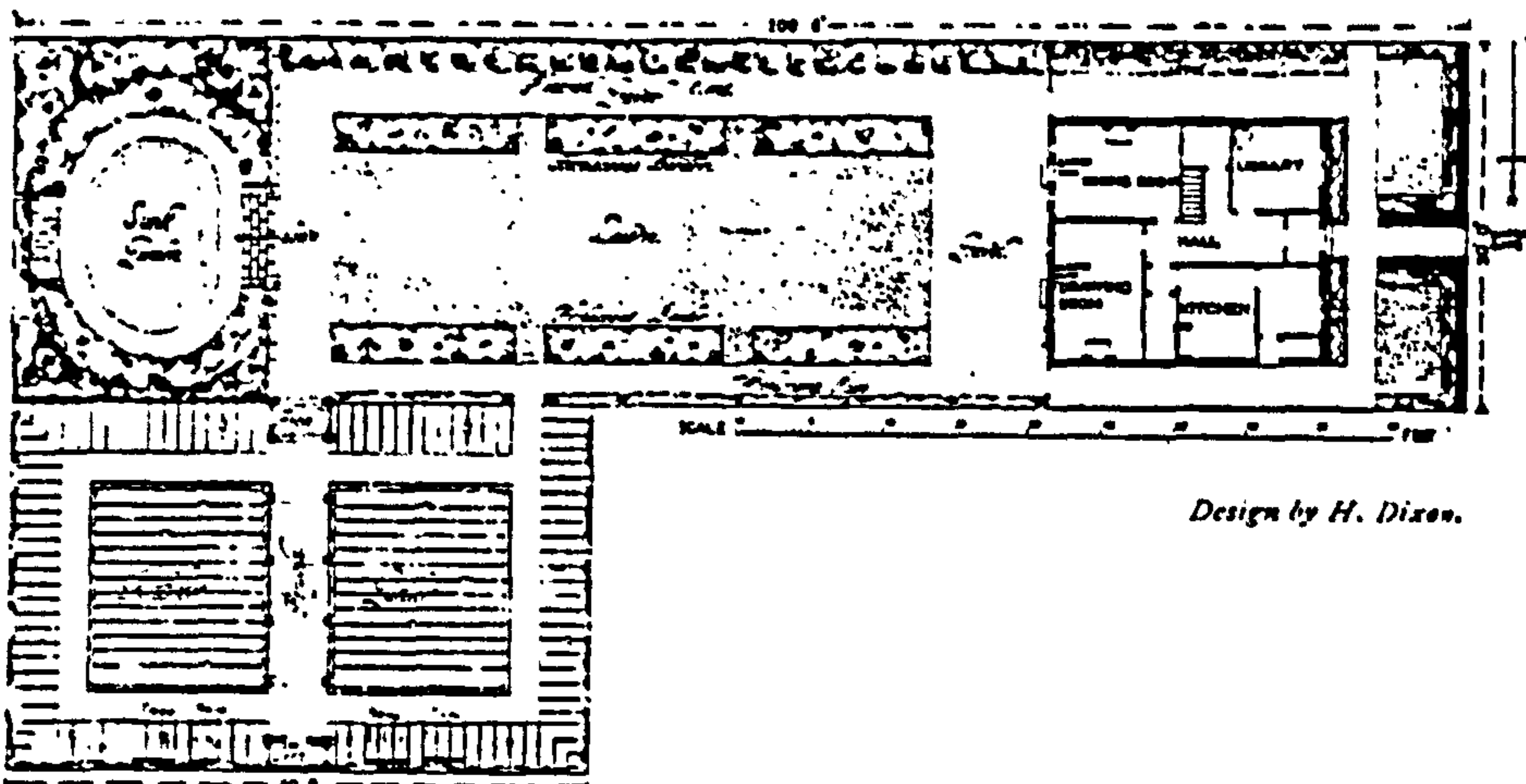
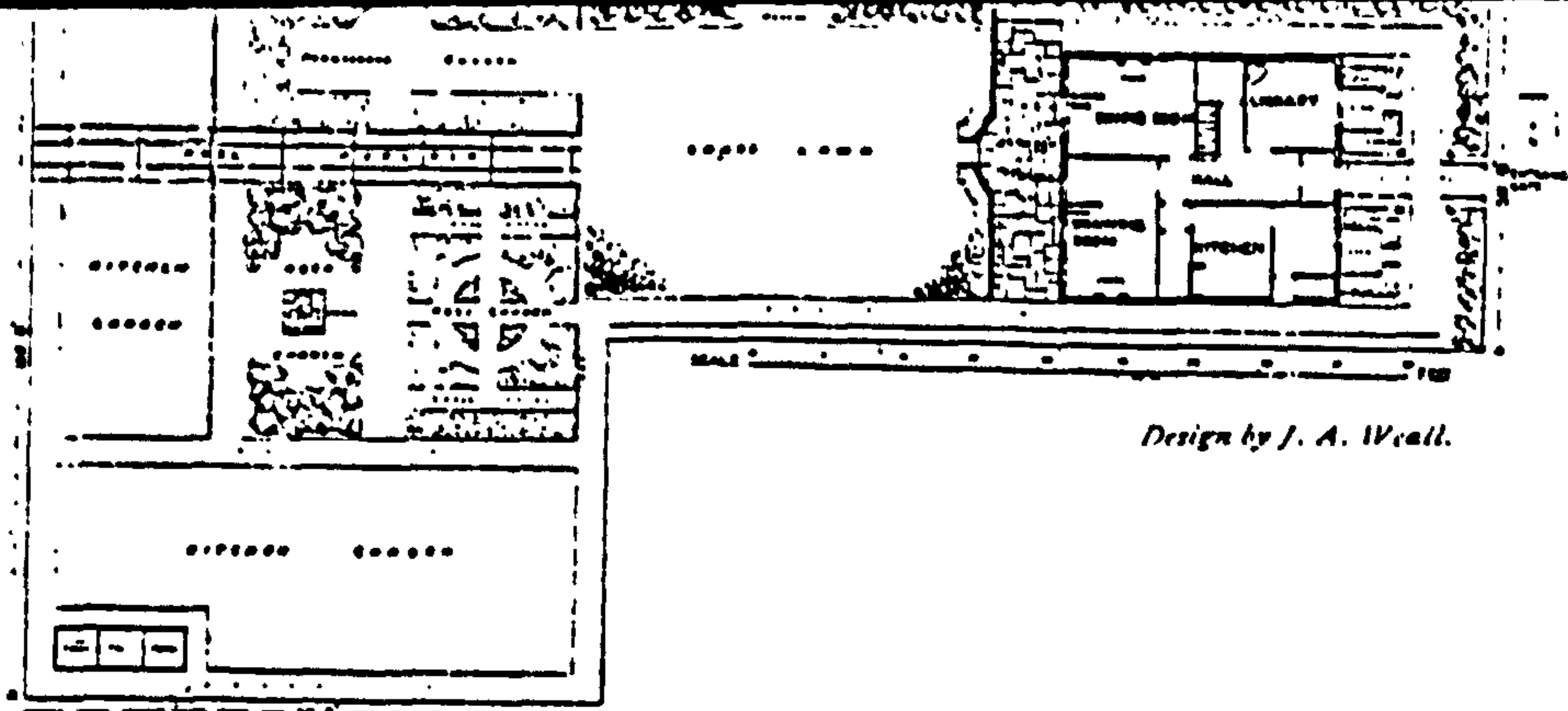


Design by A. Putnam.



Design by I. Harding.

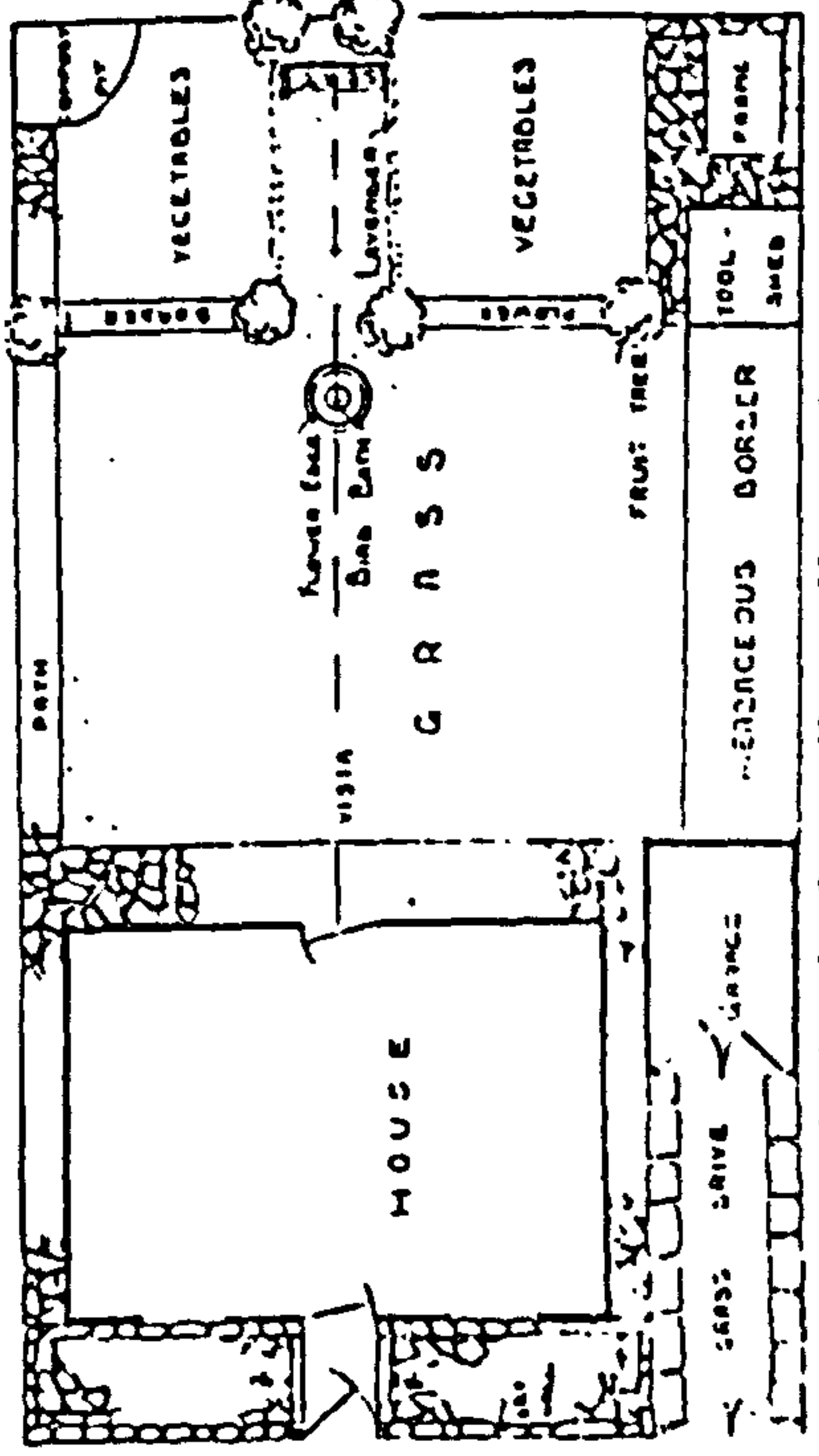
108 - 111. Garden Plans. (Garden Making by Example)



112 - 114. Garden Plans. (*Garden Making by Example*)

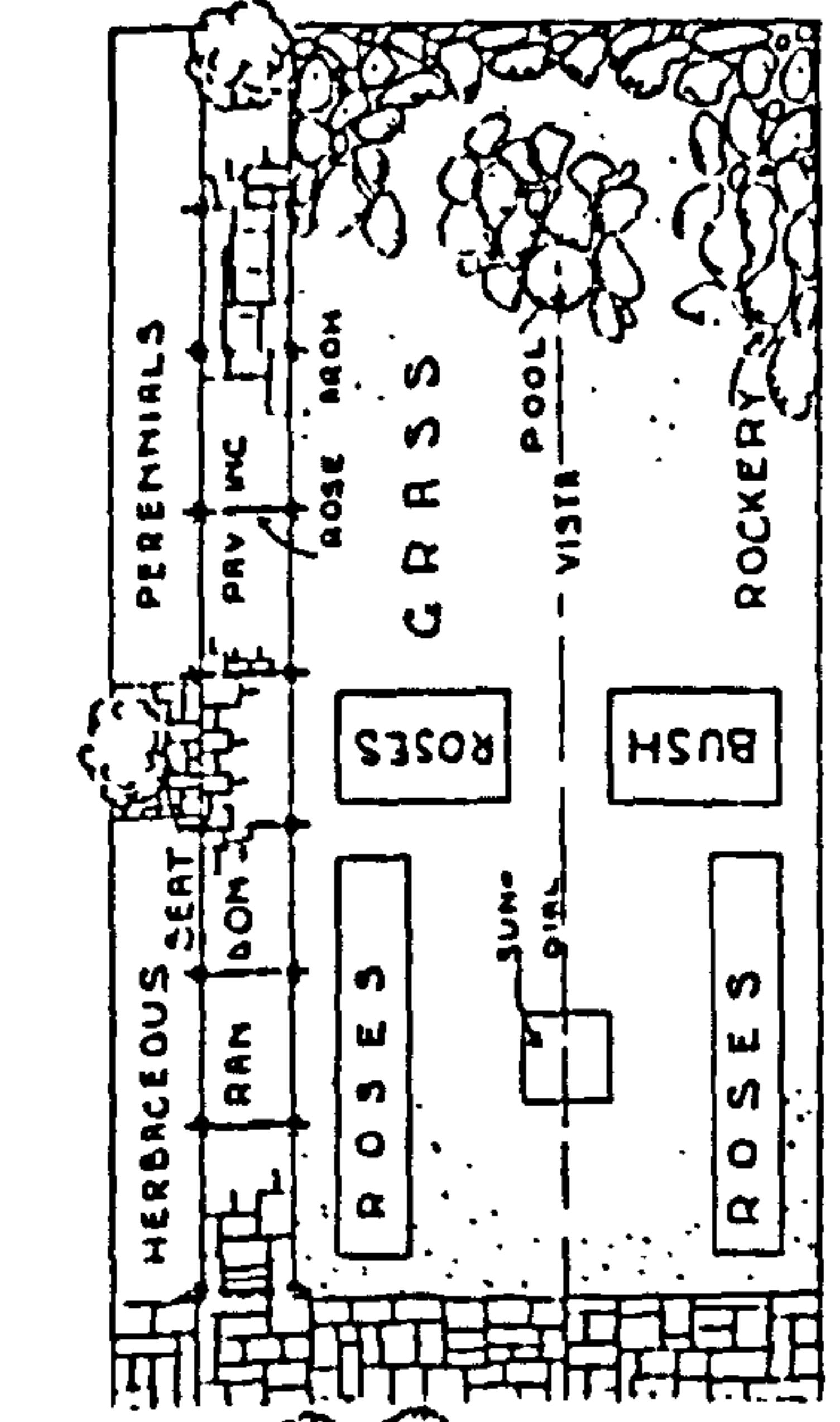
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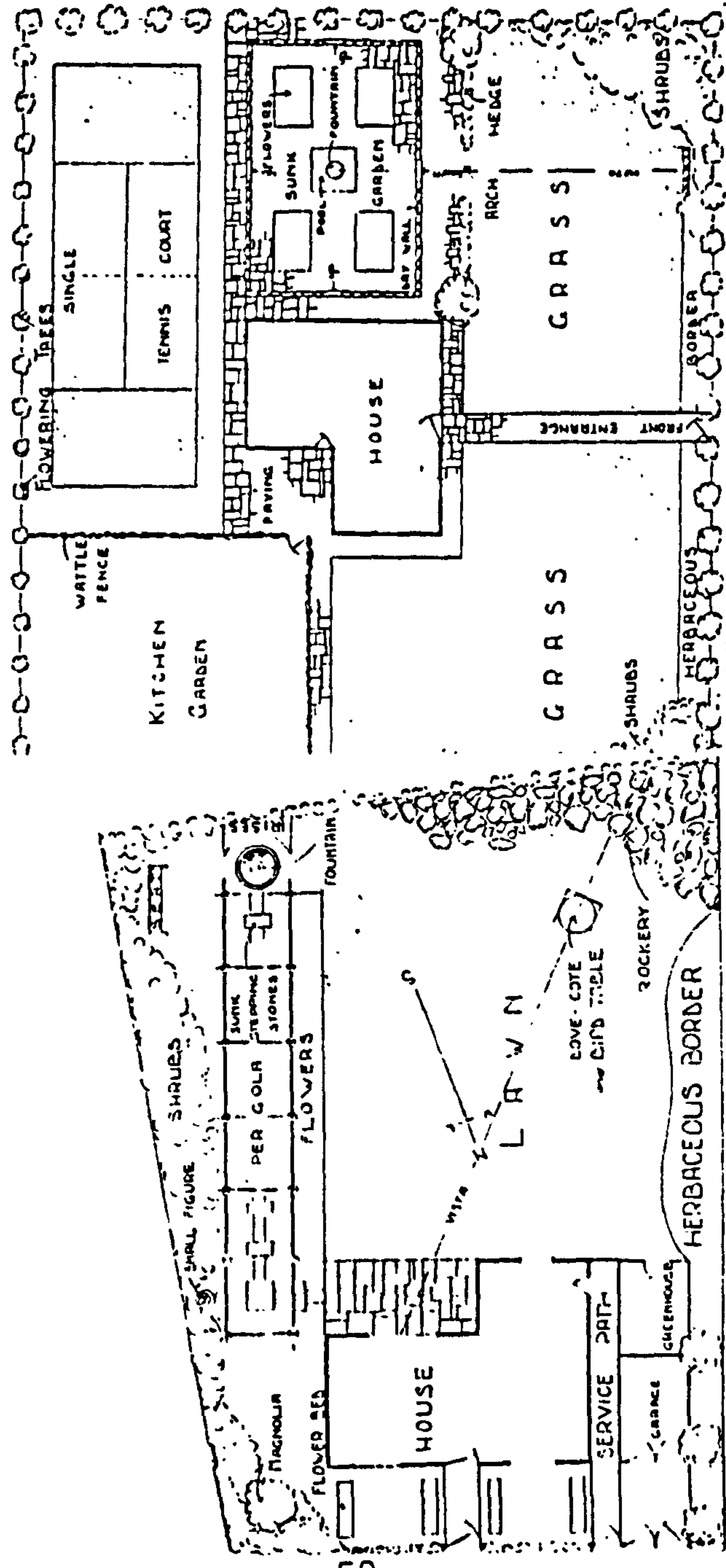
LAY-OUT FOR AN OBLONG GARDEN.

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 FEET



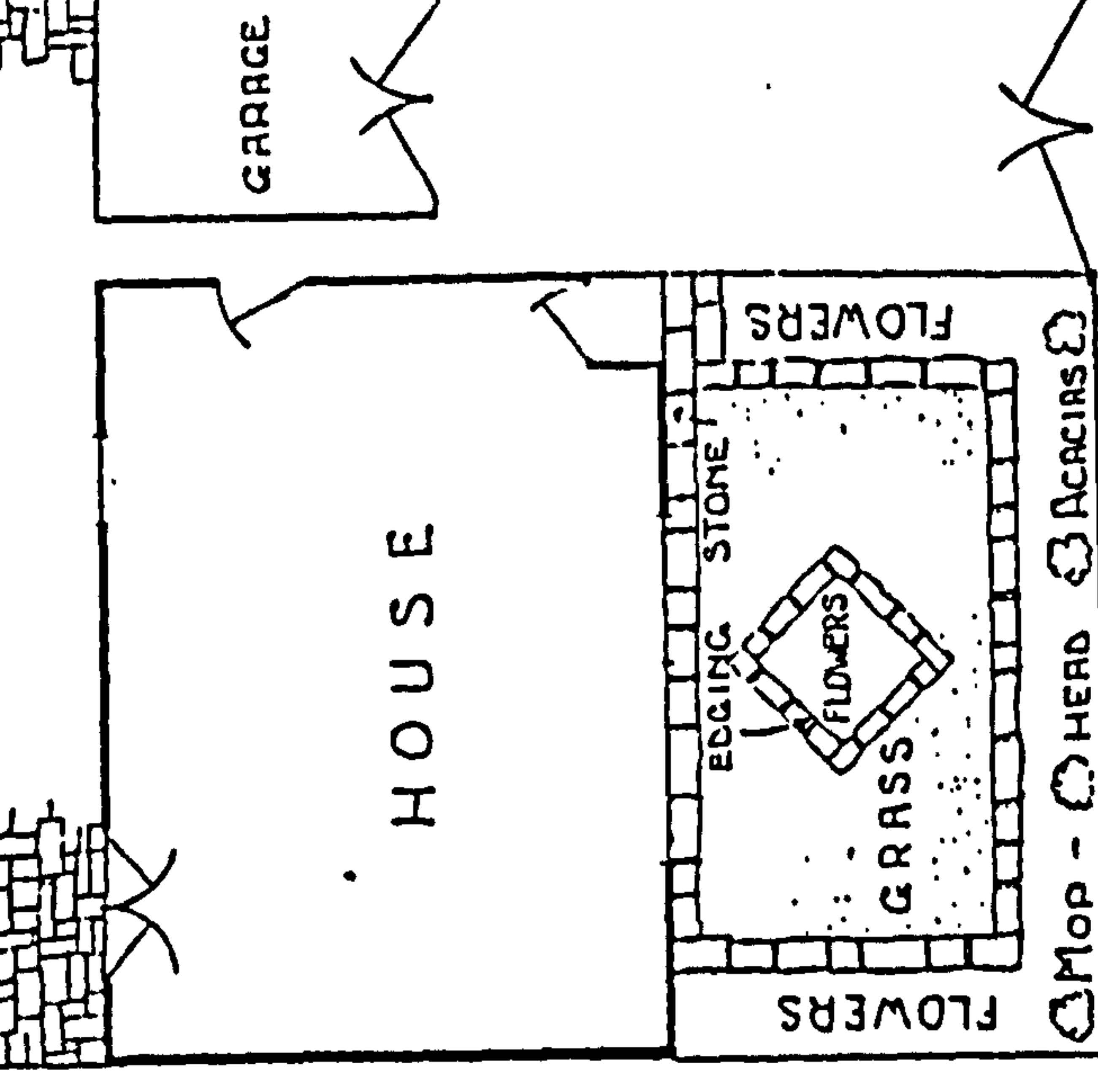
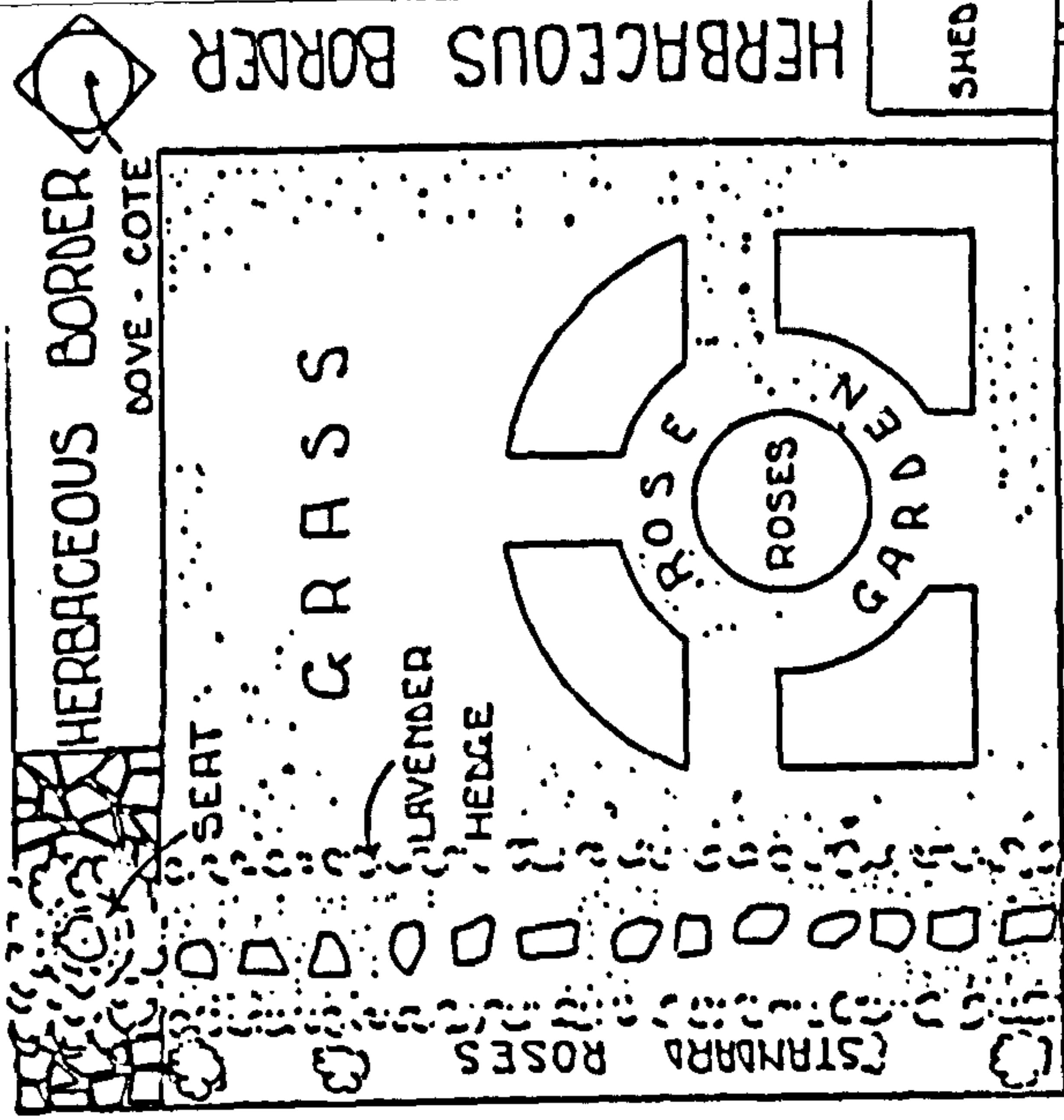
PLAN FOR AN OBLONG GARDEN.

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 FEET



PLAN FOR A SQUARE GARDEN.

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 FEET



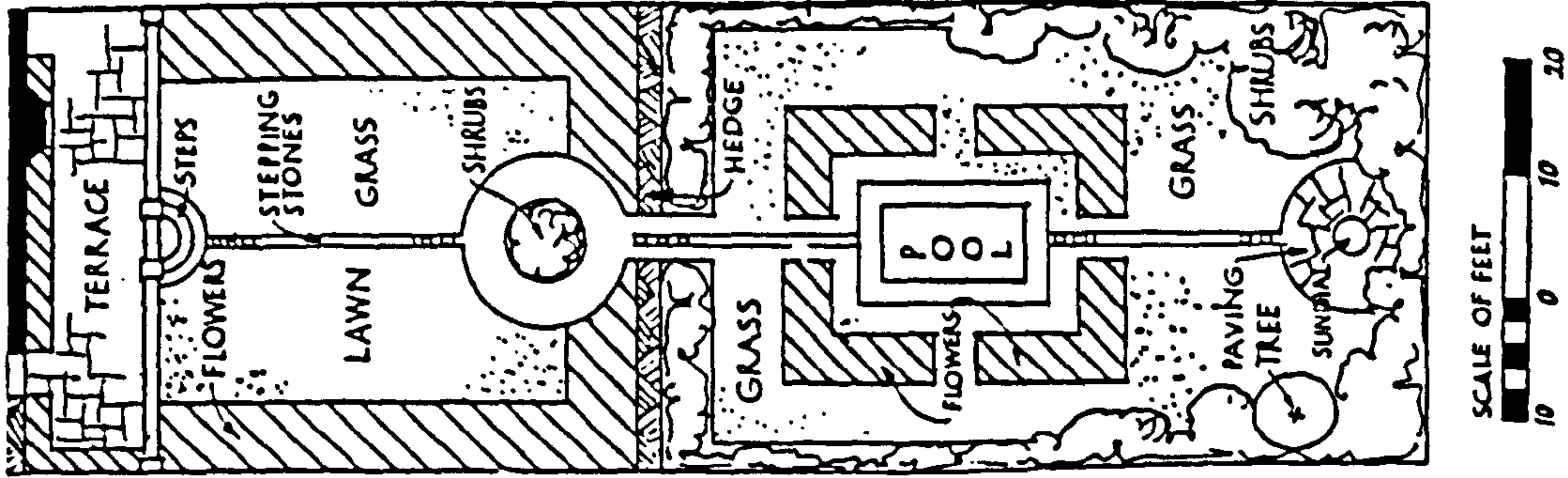


Fig. 13a.

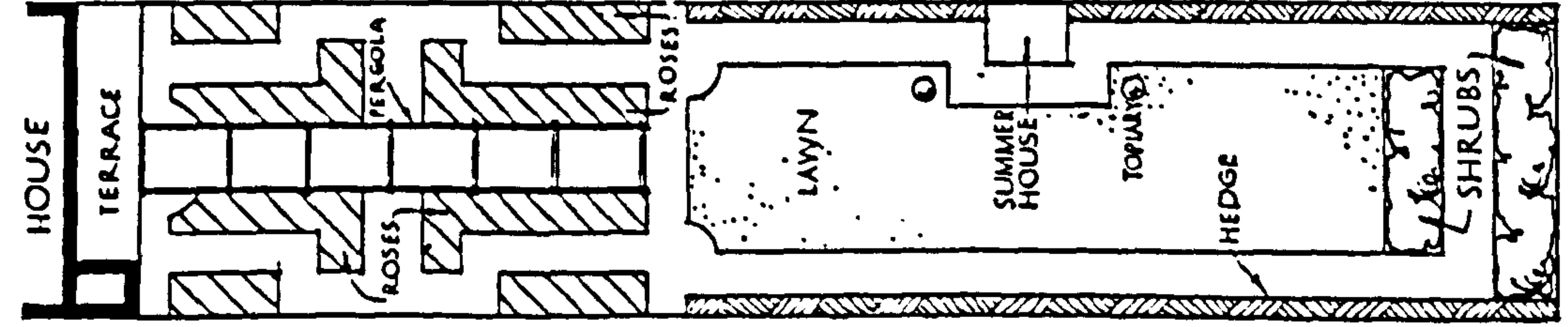


Fig. 13b.

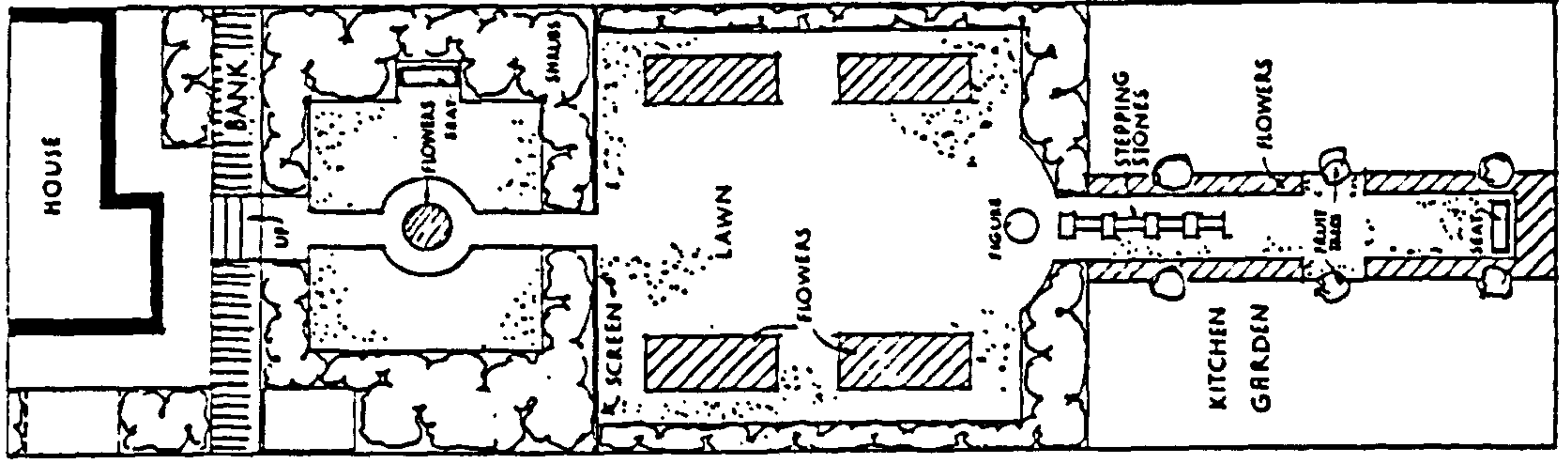


Fig. 14b.

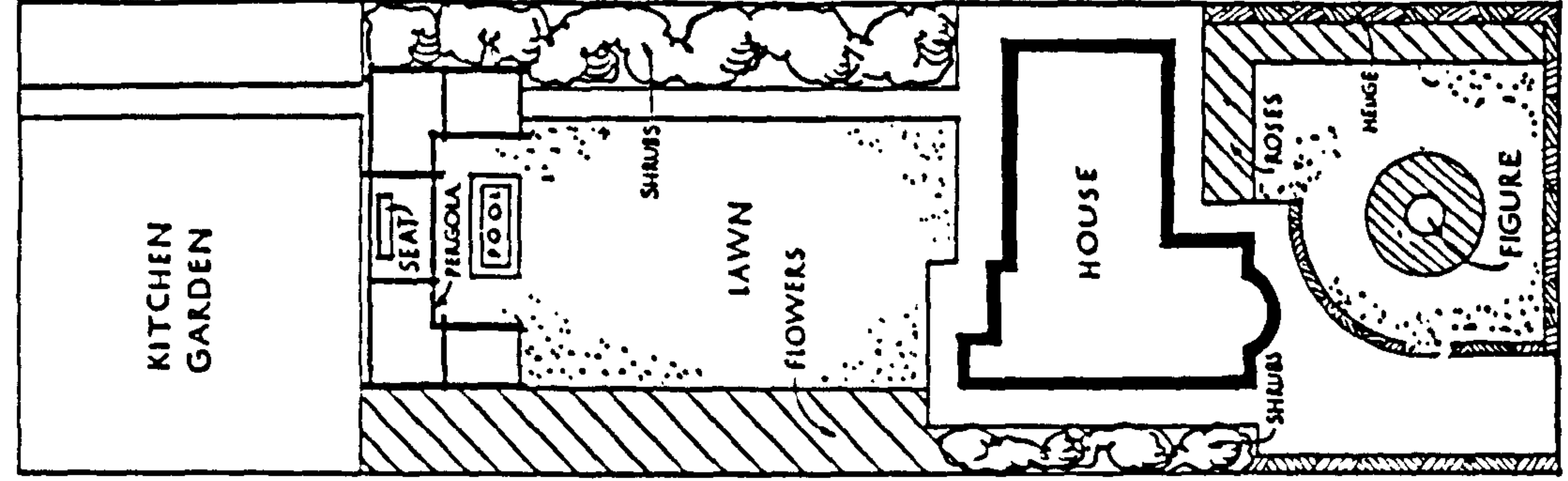


Fig. 15a.

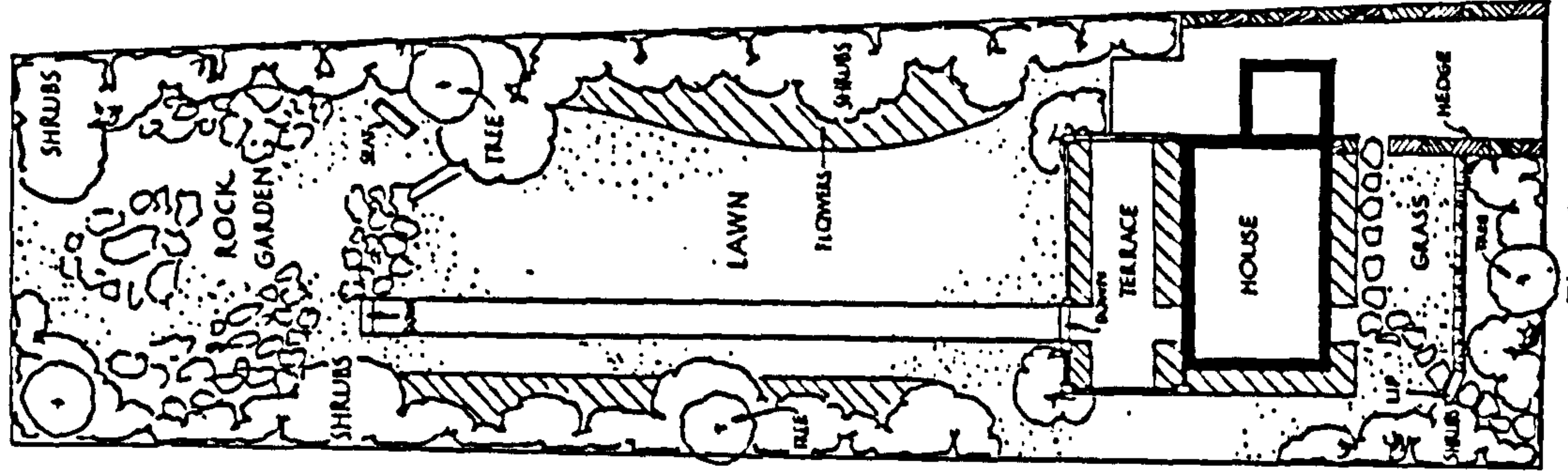


Fig. 15b.

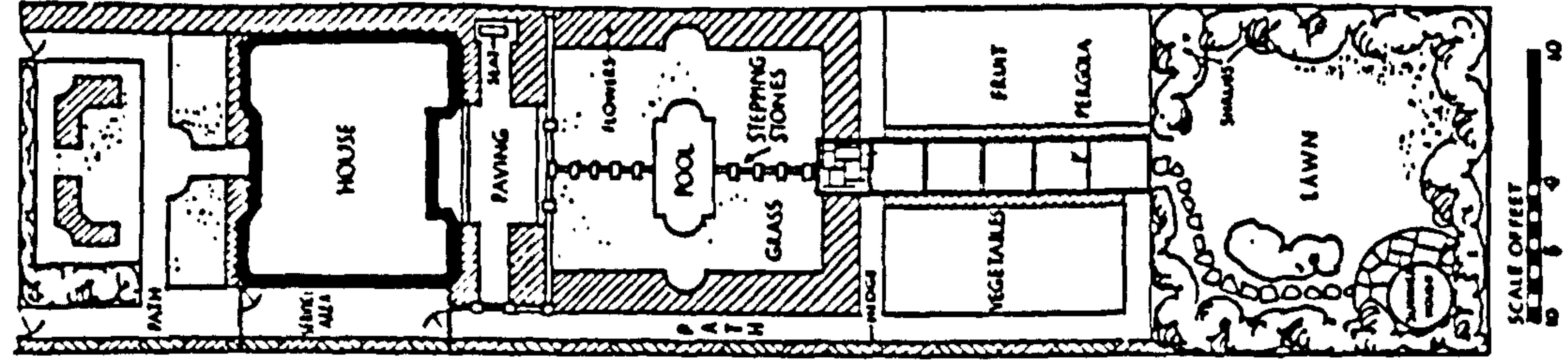


Fig. 16b.